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Chinese Immigration Pems.

Volume 1.

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Chinese Immigration Pamphlets.

Vol. 1.

Beal, A. D. - Arguments in favor of immigration  
with extracts from editorials by S. F.  
and Sacramento journals.

Opinions of the press of San Francisco and  
Sacramento on the value and im-  
portance of state aid.

Gibson, Rev. O. "Chinaman or white man,  
which?" a reply to Father Buckard.

Kinly, J. Remarks on Chinese immigration.

Kerr, J. G. Chinese question analyzed,  
with an appendix on Chinese emigration.

Chinese immigration. - Memorial of  
the Senate of Cal. to the Congress  
of the U. S. and an address  
to the people of the U. S.

Williams, S. W. Chinese immigration.  
Third annual report of the Immigrant  
Association of California.

Perkins, G. C. Chinese exclusion speech  
in the U. S. Senate, Nov. 1, 1893.

White, J. M. Chinese exclusion. Speech  
in the U. S. Senate. Nov. 2, 1893.



ARGUMENTS  
IN FAVOR OF  
IMMIGRATION

WITH AN EXPLANATION OF THE

MEASURES RECOMMENDED

BY THE

IMMIGRANT UNION

READ BY A. D. BELL BEFORE THE HON. MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON IMMIGRATION OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, LEGISLATURE  
OF CALIFORNIA, FEBRUARY 1st, 1870;

WITH

AN APPENDIX

BEING EXTRACTS FROM EDITORIALS ON THE SUBJECT, PUBLISHED IN THE SAN FRANCISCO  
AND SACRAMENTO JOURNALS, IN OCTOBER, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1869;  
ALSO, A LETTER FROM COL. LOOMIS, ON THE KANSAS METHOD OF  
MANAGING IMMIGRATION.

PUBLISHED BY THE CALIFORNIA IMMIGRANT UNION.  
FEBRUARY, 1870.

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IMMIGRATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

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RECEIVED

# IMMIGRATION.

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## AN ADDRESS TO THE HONORABLE COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEGISLATURE OF CALIFORNIA.

GENTLEMEN :—

Before entering upon the task of explaining the intentions of the promoters of the bill for establishing a State Board of Immigration, and giving you the reasons which induced our Board to draft its several provisions in their present shape, allow me to say a few words upon the general subject of immigration. The pamphlet which has been placed in your hands—made up of extracts from editorial articles published in the *Bulletin*, *Examiner*, *Alta*, *Chronicle*, *Call*, *State Capital Reporter*, *Record and Bee*, in the months of October, November and December last—will show you on the most cursory glance, that the importance of immigration and the necessity of the work being done at the State expense and under State control, has not been underestimated by the journals named.

What we have undertaken to propose, has been advocated by newspapers of all shades of politics. By all as a certain means of imparting fresh life and vigor to the growth of California, and giving her a better chance in the race with her competing sisters, towards wealth, population and power ; also by some as the best means of checking the evil of Chinese immigration.

Some few writers, not however in the journals named, have consistently opposed immigration on the ground that neither larger population, nor the increased wealth it would bring, is desirable. It is strange that such arguments should be advanced in this enlightened age, and it is especially strange that such views should be announced in journals published in a country which owes three-fourths of its present population and a large portion of its great wealth to the immigration, and the fruits of the immigration which it has received in this century.

These writers explain their position by declaring that while the introduction of frugal and industrious immigrants in large numbers would undoubtedly greatly benefit those citizens who possess the faculty which enables men to take advantage of circumstances, and rise in the world—yet it would not benefit those who cannot or will not seize opportunities, however good, when offered them. In short, while these opponents admit that the men who will labor and save, will raise themselves above their

present station, and place their families beyond the reach of any reaction which may possibly in the future, as in Illinois, follow a long season of prosperity stimulated by immigration—they say that on the other hand, the men who will *not* work steadily while wages are high, or if they do, will squander their earnings in folly and extravagance, must and will suffer by immigration. For the honor of California, no one will say that the frugal and industrious citizens of this State are in the minority and the idle and reckless in the majority; hence by their own admissions, if the rule of good government is “the greatest happiness of the greatest number,” these objectors allow that the benefit of the prudent majority should be sought and secured, not sacrificed to the protection and encouragement of the *imprudent* minority. Shall we not also say that the frugal and industrious majority is better worth the consideration of the Legislature than the idle and dissipated minority?

We are told that there are in one city of this State seven thousand men in forced idleness. It may be that the number of unfortunates is exaggerated, but whether it is or not, let us look our position squarely in the face. Six hundred thousand people in California, and four hundred thousand of them living in towns, supported by two hundred thousand living in the country—working our mines, cultivating our lands and herding our flocks. Four hundred thousand people attempting to live by supplying the wants of two hundred thousand producers. Is it not an anomaly? Is it not unprecedented? Is it surprising that the attempt has been unsuccessful and the result is failure and suffering?

Such writers as Horace Greeley have said, “There are two hundred thousand people in New York who will not leave that city until they are starved out of it.” Yet we have never heard that the editor of the *Tribune* had attacked or discouraged immigration on the ground that the overcrowding of the cities of the Atlantic coast produced distress. On the contrary, he would say, immigration enriches the United States, makes her great and powerful among nations, and the interest of a whole people cannot be sacrificed to the weakness of a class who will not help themselves by seeking work where it can most easily be found.

The position of our seven thousand unfortunates is somewhat different; they are mostly dependent on daily labor for sustenance; they have not the means of cultivating the soil on their own account, and cannot readily find employment in town or country. We say that while some means of giving them relief in their present necessity should be devised, the next good work which the Legislature can do is to inaugurate a great measure—IMMIGRATION, which by restoring prosperity to the country will give all these men another chance of establishing themselves permanently above the fear of poverty.

#### OFFICIAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

The subject of immigration has been pressed on your attention, not only by the majority of journalistic writers, but also by the executive officers of the State.



The Surveyor General of California, in his bieunial report, says: "The question we now have to deal with is, as to the best plan to be adopted to get emigrants to come to our State. In my opinion, the Legislature should take the matter in hand, and make some provision to encourage immigration. A FEW HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS COULD BE PROFITABLY EXPENDED IN THIS LAUDABLE ENTERPRISE. Agencies should be established in England, Ireland, France and Germany. Most of the Western States have agencies there, and California should have hers."

And again, after speaking of the San Joaquin and Tulare valleys, "Maps showing these valleys and the unoccupied land of the State should be made for distribution. The State should use every exertion to promote immigration of the industrious classes from Europe. We want workers; we have non-producers enough here already; we have doctors, lawyers, clerks and politicians in abundance; we now want farmers, mechanics, artisans and wine growers; all of this class can find profitable employment here, and in a very short time can make comfortable homes for themselves and their families."

His Excellency, Governor Haight, has pressed the same subject on your attention on the two-fold ground: the material advantage of the State, and the moral advantage of displacing the Chinese Coolie laborers.

"The importance of facilitating immigration from the Eastern States and Europe is felt by all who are interested in our material development. A moderate expenditure of money to establish agencies in New York and Baltimore and in Europe would probably be of service in directing immigrants to this coast, and securing additional means for their safe and speedy transit hither. Agents of this character could do much towards diffusing information as to the advantages offered by California, and making favorable arrangements with railway and steamship corporations.

"We need population—not of races inferior in natural traits, pagan in religion, ignorant of free institutions, and incapable of sharing in them without putting the very existence of those institutions in peril—but we need immigrants of kindred races, who will constitute a congenial element and locate themselves and their families permanently upon the soil; who can be admitted to an equal share in our political privileges, and respond to all the obligations imposed upon citizens under a republican Government. One great need of California is a farming population from Germany and other European States, accustomed to the cultivation of the grape and other branches of agriculture, to which our climate and soil are so peculiarly adapted. We have millions of acres of public lands in the mountains and valleys, on the coast and in the interior, open to purchase and settlement at moderate prices, and a climate, as a whole, the most equable, genial and healthful on the globe. For certain branches of agriculture, especially the production of raw silk and the

culture of the grape, no climate or country can possess more favorable conditions ; but we need an agricultural population to develop our resources in this direction, and we also need an immigration of Eastern and European mechanics and laborers. It is a general desire that some measures not involving extravagant expenditure might be devised to facilitate this object."

#### THE BILL.

It is a singular circumstance and worthy of notice, that though there has been a general outcry against the bill, not a single writer has shown in what the bill, as an Immigration bill, is wrong, or how a bill calculated to effect the object should be drawn. There have been hints of cheaper ways of "how not to do it," but none for accomplishing immigration by other methods. True one leading journal in opposing the bill admitted that printing and agents in Europe were necessary, but declared that was all that should be done. The week after, the same journal had an article showing that half the people passing through New York for California never arrived here, and forgetting what it had said the week before, declared that agents in the Atlantic ports and towns on the railroad route were all that was necessary. Another week elapsed and the same journal, still advocating immigration, proposed local agents in the several counties of the State to assist the immigrants on their arrival, and declared that alone was needed to fill the State with population. The three modes of working thus recommended when used in conjunction, make up the scheme we have proposed in the bill, which the same journal had denounced. Perhaps it had never been read.

Gentlemen, think of it ; while attacking the bill as a whole, no one has shown how the work could be done any other way. It is too late for the majority of the press of California to step back and declare that they are opposed to immigration, opposed to its being promoted on a comprehensive scale ; opposed to the expenditure of eighty thousand dollars on the work. It is too late for them to say that the work is unimportant or unfit subject for legislation. To do this is to contradict themselves on matters of record ; to draw back deliberate expressions of opinion which they have enunciated since September, in acres of *leading articles*. One journal has said within the past three weeks, "Immigration of farmers is the greatest need of California." And in the same paragraph recommended you to vote five thousand dollars—for what ? To supply this "greatest need of this great State." Gentlemen, within the past three or four months the proprietors of California newspapers have spent in authorship, type setting, press work, and paper, twice, five thousand dollars in arguing on the duty of the Legislature and arousing the public mind to the importance of this work.

But, let see what the bill says : Section 1 provides for a Board of Management, composed of six *ex officio* members, taken from the Boards

of various charitable associations in this State; one member nominated by the State Board of Agriculture, and two by the Board of the Immigrant Union.

If you need precedents for this section, look at the management of the Labor Exchange and examine the construction of the Board that controls Castle Garden, New York. But mark this especially; all our Union asks of the Legislature is the power to nominate two members out of nine, and then, if the Governor does not approve the nominations he cannot be compelled to appoint. Is there any grasping at power shown there?

Look at section 2. If the Immigrant Union selects two men, one of whom, while not so unfit as to justify the Governor in refusing to nominate him, should not be a happy selection, the Governor can prevent the mistake being a lasting one by limiting the undesirable nominee's term of office to one year. What is there obnoxious to the public interest in that clause?

Section 3 is one of the clauses that has been severely criticised. It defines the duties of the Executive Committee, and provides for their compensation at the rate of \$3,000 a year, each. These gentlemen are expected to give their time and attention for two or three hours every day to the business, and the California precedents are in favor of paying them, even if they had only to give two hours on one day a week to public business.

The Harbor Commissioners are three in number, and are paid by the State \$3,000 a year, each. Shall the State pay a Harbor Commissioner for taking his time in the best business hours in one day, and refuse to pay an Immigrant Commissioner, whose time will be taken in the best hours for business every day in the week?

Or, look at the Tide Land Commissioners. There are three of them, and they receive \$2,500 a year, and it is said that sum is an inadequate compensation for the service rendered. During the taking of testimony on conflicting ownership, the Board sat, for a time, every day; but, I am informed the number of meetings since the formation of the Board averages about one a week.

It is clear, assuming that the Executive Committee of the Immigrant Board will have to work five times as many hours as the Commissioners of the other two Boards, there can be no sufficient reason for paying them less salary.

No one has anything to say derogatory to the Boards named, but the people of California are as deeply interested in immigration as in the work carried on by either. Neither of these can be said to be vital interests. The work of building the sea-wall, or selling the San Francisco tide lands, might be temporarily suspended without the prosperity of California being materially affected. It is not so with immigration. Immigration, rightly conducted, means prosperity for every able-bodied

man, and for every manufacturing, commercial and carrying interest in California. No immigration, or badly managed immigration, means the opposite of prosperity for all those interests, and, perhaps, hard times and anxiety and misfortune for thousands.

If the managers of immigration fail to select good agents for Europe, and to make good contracts with steamship and railroad companies, immigration will not come, and the money expended will be wasted. If the managers fail to make good appointments between New York and Omaha of the emigrants who leave home for California, they will lose one half between their landing in New York and crossing our State line. If the machinery in Europe works well, and the emigrants start at the rate of 1,000 a week, and the intermediate agents exercise the necessary supervision over them in their transit, but there is no proper accommodation for receiving them here, and no organization for transferring them rapidly to their destination in the interior without much outlay, we shall have confusion from the first, followed by distress, and resulting in such a prejudice against California as will prevent us getting much population direct from Europe until the memory of our blunders is effaced by the lapse of years.

Again, for what good management will accomplish, read Col. Loomis' letter. This gentleman, who is a high authority on this kind of immigration, writes that his Board have been able, by good management, to save their emigrants from \$25 to \$30 each adult, in transporting them from the interior of Germany. Such management as the bill contemplates would save the emigrant in transportation, and in seeking out and obtaining a location on land, from \$50 to \$150; the cost of that management, as provided in the bill, will cost eighteen cents for each emigrant brought here.

But after all, gentlemen, the question of management is secondary. The Legislature has the matter in its hands. Our only request is: give us a *good* management. Let the Board be formed of capable and zealous men who will devote their time, judgment and energies to this business, and not treat their office as if it were an honorary sinecure.

Section 4 provides for a chief office, for rent, stationery, and extra clerical assistance, \$3,000. This is just the sum which the State Harbor Commissioners expend on similar purposes. The duties of these gentlemen are—managing the San Francisco wharves and building the sea wall. The State Board of Immigration would have an enormous business, extending over Europe and the Atlantic States, as well as every county in California; and the expense of postage and express dues, foreign and home, on matter sent from the chief office, would be a considerable sum. Even in the item of rent, the extent and variety of its business to be transacted, with the probability of 100 to 200 people a day having business with the officers, indicates the necessity of a considerable outlay.



Compare the sum available for rent, with what the P. M. S. S. Company, or even the C. P. R. R. expend in San Francisco, on their offices for the sale of tickets, and what we ask will seem small and inadequate.

Section 5 provides that the Board shall appoint a secretary, at a salary not exceeding \$2,400. That is the sum the secretary of the Board of State Harbor Commissioners receives, and he is allowed an assistant secretary at \$1,500 a year. The duties of these gentlemen almost entirely relate to matters belonging to San Francisco. The Tide Land Commissioners pay their Secretary \$2,000, and that gentleman is said to be the worst paid public officer in California. We ask \$2,400 for the payment of a secretary, who, besides keeping minutes of all proceedings, and a number of accounts, will have to correspond with twenty or more agents in the two hemispheres, with as many railroad and steamship companies, and to carry on this correspondence in several languages; besides the regular and official correspondence, there will be a casual correspondence, occupying nearly as much time as the regular.

Section 6 provides for a general agent for California, at \$3,000. The general wharfinger of San Francisco receives \$2,400. The duty of the latter gentleman is to supervise ten wharfingers and ten collectors. Amongst other duties, our officer has to supervise the work of ten district agents in California. He is also to make himself acquainted with the quality and description of all lands open to pre-emption, etc., and with all opportunities for immigrants settling in the various occupations of life, throughout a State which has the largest area in the United States—Texas excepted. Besides this, he is required to see, if possible, every immigrant coming in the State, who desires, as nearly all will desire, advice, information and guidance. To fulfill these duties, if only 20,000 immigrants arrived in a year, would require a man of great business qualifications, of remarkable industry, and accustomed to the rapid dispatch of affairs on hand. For such a man, doing such work, \$3,000 a year is not an extravagant remuneration. It is hardly necessary to say that many men, tempted by the emolument, will apply for the position; but there are few men in the State, who could discharge these duties satisfactorily, who are not already engaged, and in reception of a large remuneration. Yet, it is evident, that should the general agent fail, whether in knowledge of the State, in power of organization, in judgment, in tact or in patience, the effect would be the throwing of the whole machinery into confusion, by delaying the distribution of immigrants in their final settlement—thus causing the individuals loss, and destroying much of their usefulness to the State, by crippling their means of commencing in life, and impairing that moral elasticity and sanguine hope which every man needs to start well in a new country.

Section 7 authorizes the expenditure of \$6,000 annually in California, on the collection and dissemination of information; the making and

printing of maps ; on authorship and translations ; on printing, and advertising within the State. The collection of information on lands, will include the making of maps and a series of diagrams or books showing the lands which have not passed into private ownership, and which are fit for settlement. This map, shows that there were from 1,200 to 1,500 townships surveyed in this State, and not offered for sale or subject to purchase by private entry, up to the close of 1868 : That is about 34,000,000 acres. The best estimate we have, excluding lands held by railroad companies, gives the total quantity of private lands in California at about 13,000,000 acres, leaving about 20,000,000 good, bad and indifferent, open to pre-emption, and already surveyed. According to the official report of the Surveyor-General of California, there were about 4,500,000 acres of land enclosed, in 1868 and 1869 ; 2,343,000 acres cultivated ; of which, 1,755,000 were sown with wheat and barley. It may be well to say here that the quantity of land in California, as estimated by U. S. Commissioner Wilson, which is fit for some purpose, at 80,000,000 acres. In other words, about 1 acre in 18 of the useful lands are enclosed, and 1 acre in 34 actually cultivated. Before immigration officers would be ready to show all these surveyed lands to immigrants, it would be necessary to make diagrams of the several townships which contain public lands. Each diagram would not only show the thirty-six sections it contained—denoting those that were open to pre-emption, but also every 40-acre tract, that is every sixteenth part of a section, or every five hundred and seventy-sixth part of a township. The land books of the C. P. R. R. Company, and of the several large land offices in San Francisco, will give the Legislature an idea of what we think should be done for the information of settlers.

The work will be done by copying the maps of the several United States Land Offices, and transcribing the field notes of the United States Surveyors.

The work is so enormous, that to complete it in one or two years even, to the extent of the survey as it had proceeded up to the end of 1868, would cost several times \$6,000 and there are yet many counties that have never been sectionized, and which are now demanding for their own sake the forcing of this work on the attention of the United States authorities. If you establish a State Board of Immigration, it will be necessary that the foothill counties should be, at least, partially sectionized before we can confer upon them benefits we contemplate. Without such information as we propose to give, immigrants cannot find the lands which we know are open to them, without great loss of time and expense of travelling, as well as maintaining their families. At a moderate computation it would cost every settler \$100 in all expenses to obtain for himself the information which we propose to furnish him with free of cost, and immediately on his arrival, if the State will authorize this trivial expenditure. Of



course, we cannot do much with \$6,000 a year—one-third or one-half of which must go to defray other expenses, but we believe enough can be done to meet the wants of the immigrants month by month.

In some of the Western States there have been made and published at State expense, catalogues of their public lands, showing every forty acre tract, and the surveyor's note of its character. In their case it was often comparatively easy for immigrants to find lands without this assistance—in ours it is almost impossible. Our lands are so scattered and so much mixed up with Spanish grants and large estates, or located in thousands of little valleys, that even old residents are at a loss to know where public lands of fair quality are to be had, and from this very difficulty, has arisen the misapprehension that we have no such lands. The capitalists by combined action and the employment at great expense of qualified men, have found such lands for themselves. We now propose to seek information on land matters for a less selfish end and offer all the advantages which the great land buyers obtained by combination, to immigrants and actual settlers free, and without price, if the State will appropriate the means.

The other expenses to be met out of the six thousand dollars, are authorship and translations, printing and advertising in this State. If these are paid for out of two thousand dollars, leaving four thousand dollars for the land business, it will be by the exercise of the strictest economy.

In the same clause is a provision for five thousand dollars for immigrant homes. The press has been divided on this subject. Some—and those were the papers that appeared to think that the printing in Germany and Great Britain of a few thousand pamphlets would bring us all the immigration we need—pressed upon us the necessity of providing homes for the immigrants. Others, again, found fault with us for proposing to introduce paupers for whom alms-houses would be necessary. The idea of providing homes for immigrants is not based on the supposition that they will be moneyless, but that having from fifty dollars to one thousand dollars or more each, it will be necessary that they should be protected while yet strangers from imposition and fraud, and shown how and where they can live cheaply with their families, while recruiting from the fatigue of their journey, and where the head of the family can leave his wife, children and baggage in safety during his absence in the interior selecting his future home. It will be for the State Board to decide whether it will adopt the Baltimore or the New York "Home" system. In case the latter is followed it will be seen by the amount asked, that the bill contemplates nothing more than providing one or two barracks, divided by partitions into rooms where families can have privacy, however rough the accommodation, with convenience for cooking and washing. If all immigrants entered the State by one route a single institution of this class would suffice, but as it is probable as many or more will come by sea as

by land, two would be necessary. Say, one building in Alameda county, where it can easily be reached by the use of a steam-tug as in New York taking the passengers direct from the deck of the ocean steamer; another at some point in the Sacramento valley contiguous to a railroad station. The railroad passengers ought not to be carried to the vicinity of San Francisco, as that would be tempting them to do the very thing the bill is designed to prevent—increase the population of San Francisco instead of building up the country. Any family of six or seven souls coming into San Francisco and staying at one of the third class hotels, would not under any circumstances get away under an expense of from eighty to one hundred dollars. In such “Homes” as we suggest it need cost such a family for living more than fifteen dollars a week, and if they confined themselves to absolute necessities, and lived as in many cases they had been compelled all their lives, their expenses would not exceed ten dollars a week. Sixty or eighty dollars saved to a family on their first arriving into the country might make all the difference between success and failure in their first year.

Section 8 provides for a sub-officer, an assistant agent, at Sacramento, to take charge of the railroad immigrants and transact the general business of the Union at that important and central point. This section has been criticized both ways. It has been said by one portion of the press, the allowance is too large, and by another that it is too small; an indication that in framing this clause we have hit the happy mean.

This section also provides for dividing the State into ten districts and employing a competent district agent in each. The meaning of the provision is this: No man residing chiefly in San Francisco or any other central point can give immigrants that practical aid and instruction they so much need. A man desiring to settle on land in San Diego county, Los Angeles, Monterey, El Dorado, Tuolumne, Siskiyou, Colusa, Tehama, Humboldt, or elsewhere, will need the assistance of some person living in the vicinity in which he proposes to locate—to guide and direct him in the examination of the lands, of which the head office can only give him the general direction. Every week, nay, in some times of the year every day, there will be immigrants settling out in half a dozen directions. The general or assistant agent cannot leave their other duties and neglect the new arrivals to accompany them. This plan of employing district agents is exactly that adopted in Kansas; and described in Col. Loomis’ letter. All their immigrants are located along and within twenty or thirty miles of the line of the railroad, and at every depot they have a land agent to discharge the very duties which we propose these district agents shall fulfil. Without such division of labor it would be impossible to clear off and distribute large bodies of immigrants—strangers to our country, ignorant of our land matters, and foreigners in language—without confusion and delay. For this object we ask \$5,000 a year, and propose to divide

it among ten men at least. In those localities to which few immigrants go, the salary need not be so large as the average; most of the agents will have some other means of livelihood; and in other districts where there is much business, the salary may have to be more than one-tenth of the sum allowed.

Here we may stop to say, with propriety, that the accommodation of the immigrants in cheap quarters, the furnishing of the men seeking land with exact, not general and indefinite information, and the arrangements for their rapid distribution over the country, are fully as important—if the business is to be smoothly and successfully conducted—as the gathering of immigrants in other countries. The more thought our friends in the Legislature give to this branch of the subject, the more they will feel its value. The worth of the services which these district agents will render the new comers far outweighs their paltry cost. Consider, with an estimate of fifty thousand immigrants a year, it only comes to ten cents an immigrant. Without explanation, this low average may seem ridiculous. In practice only one immigrant in twenty or thirty has any business with any single district agent, and when such agent has given a day to locating six, eight or ten heads of families, he has been the means of finally disposing of fifty or sixty, perhaps one hundred persons—men, women, children and employés.

I am tempted here to point out the great value of the criticisms this bill has received, even from influential quarters. A week or two ago, since the other portions of this address was prepared, there appeared an editorial in the San Francisco Evening *Bulletin*, headed "Aid to Immigrants," eulogizing a letter from a correspondent at Los Angeles, who conceived he had discovered something new, and the *Bulletin* declares his suggestion to have the merit of novelty and to be worth looking into. This is what the *Bulletin* says:

"Much is said just now about the best means of attracting population. It will probably be found that the best means after all to draw people to our shores is to see that those who are already here are properly encouraged. Every contented, prosperous immigrant will advertise his good fortune in the East and induce one or more of his neighbors to join him. Those who do well very generally write home extolling the merits of the country, while those who fail are pretty sure to send back bad reports. We receive letters almost every day from new-comers, complaining that it is hard to get a start; that the best land is gobbled up by speculators, and that it costs a little fortune to buy a farm and stock it. These complaints are often exaggerated, but are made in good faith, by those who find a different condition of things from what they expected. They are strangers and do not know where to go to get what they are looking for; frequently go to the wrong source, are frightened at the prices asked, and become discouraged and disgusted.

"One of these new comers, writing from San Diego, proposes a plan for the consideration of Legislators and others for aiding this class of people. It has at least the merit of novelty, and may be worth looking into. Our correspondent says:

"Give us a man in each county; give us a Government Real Estate Agency; an Immigrants' Information Office, or whatever you have a mind to call it, which can tell us where the Government lands are; which can tell us who owns this ten thousand acre grant, or that five hundred thousand acre one; which can tell us what lands are for sale, and what the owners will take per acre, and in what quantities and on what terms, etc.; which can tell us what are the clouds about the titles of such lands, etc.; in fact, to put all our wants in a nut-shell. Place in each county a square, honest man (and assistants if necessary,) who can give the immigrant all the information about the available lands free of charge, and the immigrant will do the lecturing free of charge and with much more force than all the fancy lecturers that California could raise. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Let the State Government look after the immigrants who come to California, and if the country is good, as I have no doubt it is, they, through their influence, will soon multiply ten fold."

The writer's discovery of novelty in this suggestion reminds one of the man who found to his surprise, that he had been talking prose all his life without knowing it. How the *Bulletin* recommended an important feature of the bill as if it had been overlooked by the framers; we do not understand.

Section 9 provides for agents at New York, Baltimore, and elsewhere on the railroad line, and at Aspinwall. We submit that the necessity of having these persons is shown by an article published in the *Bulletin* since the bill was given to the world. Only three thousand nine hundred immigrants entered the port of New York last year who avowed their intention of coming to California, and the *Bulletin* says, that less than half that small number reached the State. They were captured and diverted from their intention by the runners of rival States. We propose by having our agents at all important points, to prevent this loss, and even to make a gain by carrying on the war against our rivals and inducing emigrants bound to their territory to change their route in our favor.

Four thousand two hundred dollars for six such agents, each of whom will in his own neighborhood, be an active missionary for California, is not a large sum, and if the selection of men is judicious, the money will not be ill spent. If we reduce the loss of those who start out for California from fifty per cent (the present rate) to twenty-five per cent, it will be a great work. We expect that these agents would gain as many emigrants from others as we should lose of our own. The duties of these men are sufficiently defined in the bill.

Section 10 provides for the appointment of a chief agent for Great



Britain and Ireland. This is one of the two most important offices provided in the bill. If this gentleman and his co-adjutor<sup>2</sup> on the main continent do their duty, the tide of immigrants will commence to flow at the rate we have estimated. Whether that tide continues to flow, will depend much on the accounts which the first comers may give of the management on this side. But on these men's shoulders rest the entire responsibility of success or failure in starting the whole machinery. They may be aptly compared to the boilers. If there is not sufficient steam generated, the best contrived engine will be comparatively useless. In any other position, if a mistake has been made in selecting the officer, the blunder will not be a fatal one and can easily be remedied. These men, thousands of miles away, will be comparatively irresponsible, and at least half a year might be wasted before a failure could be detected, the incompetent man recalled, and his successor inducted in his place. Meantime, all the other expenses would be running on without the State reaping the full advantage expected from them. In the making of contracts with printing firms, and with railroad and steamship companies, these men would have opportunities of robbing California, or the emigrants, or both, to a large amount, if they were so inclined. The provision for the forfeiture of the whole amount of their bonds, ten thousand dollars, as a penalty for the slightest departure from integrity, is all the law can do to enforce honesty; but when all is done, the State has only the honor of its representative to rely upon. We point out this danger, not to discourage the friends of emigration, but as an argument in favor of unusual care and discrimination in making the appointments.

When Howard, the great English plow maker, returned to his own country from a tour through the Atlantic States, he addressed the London farmers' club, and told his audience that he had made an important discovery—"England could not afford to send a fool to America." California could no more afford to send a fool to Europe on such an errand as immigration, than she can afford to send a fool to Congress. At Washington, the folly of one man might be corrected by the superior qualifications of his colleagues. In the selection of these two agents, the result of folly will be costly and lasting.

The Australians, the colony of Victoria, a country in many of its conditions, more similar to our State than any other British colony, and some think more similar to us in its most marked features, than any State in the Union, chose for their chief British agent, Mr. Verdon, a prominent member of the late government, and one of the ablest men in the country. These colonists pay him ten thousand dollars a year for his services, and Australian papers say that such has been his success, that seven hundred and fifty people a day have made inquiries at his chief office in London regarding Victoria (Melbourne) as a field for emigrants. The Australian appropriation, or rather the appropriation by a single Australian colony,

is one million five hundred thousand dollars, or six times as much as we ask, including the special aid clause.

There is no man in California too great for such a position, and the difficulty the State Board will have, will be to obtain a man good enough for the place for the sum named.

Provision is made for the chief agent's expenses at the rate of four thousand dollars a year, and five hundred dollars extra for the first year. Passage to Europe, office fixtures, etc., etc., will absorb that additional sum and more.

Four thousand dollars a year is little less than eleven dollars a day, or two pounds four shillings. Out of this he must pay traveling expenses, stationery, postage (a large item), advertising his movements, hire of lecture halls, cleaning, lighting, and doorkeeper, and a hundred other expenses—some trivial, but all necessary.

To defray these expenses, he has less than eighteen shillings a day more than a commercial man—a drummer—traveling for a first-class wholesale house in the dry goods trade, is ordinarily allowed. The latter has his postage stamps and stationery found him, and has no lecture halls to hire, no advertising to do, no such expenses to defray as the chief agents in Europe must incur, if they make an energetic canvass of the people they are accredited to. If they fail to accomplish the result our citizens will expect from their labors, these men will be disgraced for life in California.

The chief agent for the European continent may find some of these items less costly than the British agent will; but he must take occasionally some long and expensive journeys in traveling from one end of Europe to the other, in visiting the minor agents.

Those who have denounced the appropriation of four thousand dollars for expenses, must have contemplated the agent sitting down in office in London, and waiting for the emigrant to drop in. Even if he set himself energetically to work upon the citizens of London, he might, in these eight or ten towns which clustered together, pass under a common name, find an honest way of spending the money. But it is not people from London, or any other large town, that California wants. The class he will be expected to send do not visit London once a year, most of them never saw the great city, and never will. It is in the agricultural counties, at the fairs and cattle markets, where farmers congregate, that he must seek the class we need.

Clerks, shopkeepers, and idle young men might be had in great numbers; but one horny-fisted farmer, with his bustling wife, learned in cheese, butter, and poultry, with sons who can plow, and daughters not too proud to milk, would be worth to California a hundred such.

Section 11 is similar to Section 10, and provides for the appointment of a chief agent for the European continent.



Section 12 provides for bonds being given by the executive committee and other officers.

Section 13 provides for the expenditure of ten thousand dollars in printing and distributing pamphlets, in Great Britain and Ireland. To reach thirty-two millions people with a single pamphlet, say a general description of the resources of California, one million copies would not be a very excessive supply. Besides the general pamphlet, the Board would probably desire to issue a smaller one on the mode of obtaining public lands, on the homestead law and exemptions; this latter subject would be particularly interesting to people with families, who have learned by experience that a reverse of fortune might cause them to be turned out of house and home, and even the bed sold from under a sick wife or child, by a harsh creditor. Another pamphlet would be required on farming—giving the cost of building a small house, of fencing, of implements, wagons, working and neat cattle—the modes and cost of plowing by single and gang plows, and cultivators—the season for sowing, the various methods of harvesting, the cost of threshing and sacking, and the average prices at leading shipping points—so that practical men could see beforehand what their prospects would be, what they had to do, and what profit they might expect with wheat at a given price in Europe. The Board would also desire to have another pamphlet on textile manufactures—one on leather manufactures—one on manufactures in metal—one on silk throwing and manufacturing—one on mining for precious and base metals, and coal. Each of these would be of use in different districts, and for different classes, and should be printed in quantities of from 5,000 to 50,000 each.

To show what could be done in this way, it may be pointed out that the whole sum allowed for printing and distribution would pay for printing an edition of 480,000 copies of one pamphlet of sixty-four pages, at the rate of one penny each. It will only be by cutting and carving, and weighing the propriety of the expenditure of every dollar, and taking care that every publication he distributes is placed in hands where it has a fair chance of usefulness, that an intelligent agent will find the money allowed sufficient for the object. The chief agent on the continent of Europe would find the same difficulty in making the money allowed for this purpose (printing in the German language) do the work intended, though he might have the advantage of slightly lower prices than his British colleague. In German, all the above pamphlets would be required, and a vine-growing and a wine-making pamphlet besides.

There is in this clause also, a proviso for \$15,000 for Union agencies in Europe, and printing in other languages than German. How the State Board should divide the money we do not undertake to say, but, if for the sake of argument we suppose they employed five agents at \$1,000 each, and allowed \$2,000 each for printing in Danish, Dutch, French, Italian,

and other languages, it would not give excessive amounts for the purpose. It is evident that for Europe there would have to be a variety of pamphlets, as well as in Great Britain. In the French and Italian languages, for instance, the silk and the wine pamphlet should be used, as well as the general one.

Section 14 provides for the expenditure of \$5,000 a year in lectures and other means of inducing emigration from the Atlantic States and California. The California newspapers can do good service in this field, and their usefulness can be increased by taking measures for having the best of our weeklies furnished to reading-rooms and farmers' clubs, and other places in which the classes we propose to invite can be reached. A special pamphlet on lumber and manufactures in wood, for distribution in Canada and Maine, would be a good way of spending \$1,000 of this sum.

The allowance of \$10,000 for contingencies explains itself; the clause prohibits the expenditure of more money in salaries than the law provides.

Section 15 authorizes contracts being made with steamship and railroad companies, on behalf of emigrants. Those critics who have said that the bill provided many salaries and some printing, but nothing for the immigrant, overlooked some clauses which do far more for the immigrant than if all the money asked to be furnished were given in cash to the men themselves. If Col. Loomis' statement, that the road he presides over has been able to save the emigrant \$25 to \$30, between the interior of Germany and Kansas, were not sufficient, we could furnish other authorities.

Section 16 is the special aid clause, and contemplates the expenditure of more than two thirds of all the money the State would have to expend if the bill passed into law in its present shape. When examined, whether adopted or not, we believe it will be admitted to be one of the best clauses in the bill. All the other money goes to procuring and helping immigrants, not by giving them cash, but facilities that will save them outlays, and in offering them services free that they could not buy for twenty times the sum it will cost the State to give them. Under this clause we do not propose that the money of California shall be spent in charity among the poor of Europe. However hard their lot, we cannot aid them in free passages. To do so would be to inflict a deadly injury on the working men of this country, and the advantage that one interest in California would gain by the increase of laborers would be outweighed by the loss of the other interest in the excessive reduction of wages.

This clause acts as a corrective to the introduction of too much labor by offering extra inducements to farming capitalists who would necessarily be employers. The persons that this clause is intended to bring are those we most want. If they come, all others that we desire will come also. Manufacturers will come—labor will come. It is well known how close-fisted the farmers of the old country are; how slow to spend money

on anything that cannot be turned into money again. These people will hesitate long over the high rates of passage to California. In argument they will admit all the advantages they are told of; they will confess the superiority of California to any State or Colony, but they may close their purses after all, and go to some place which can be reached at less expense. This clause will help the agent for California to bridge over that difficulty.

The following explanation of this clause appeared in the *Alta*, before the printing of the bill, under the heading, "The Class we must Bid for."

"ERRORS ALTA :—It is understood that the bill prepared by the Union contains a clause offering State aid to a certain class of immigrants; that is, agriculturists with families and some capital. The idea is not to give aid to needy persons, but to bid for the most desirable class of population any country can have—men who possess the means of employing their own labor, who themselves and their children will work with their own hands for their own profit. These are the class who in Saxon times were called the Franklins and in later days are styled the Yeomanry of England. Under other names the same class are to be found in Germany and in every other European country. It has been said, why not let your charity begin at home? In the first place it is not charity but business that the California Immigrant Union contemplates. It is proposed that the State shall bid for a new population; a population that not only will increase our numbers but increase our circulating capital and our taxable property. The idea is not to help European paupers in place of assisting our own broken-down miners, but to offer a bonus for a class who can not only help themselves but maintain others, from the day of their entry on the land they select. The Legislature will be asked not to pay the passage money of the impecunious hordes of Europeans who never had the skill to earn or the prudence to save enough to pay their fare to this country, but to give a small inducement to tempt those whom we most need to come amongst us. What is proposed is a bait—a bait to attract fish, who being caught will decoy all other fish we need into our nets. If we bring inhabitants from the older States, they may grow dissatisfied and return to their former homes. If we bring single men or women from Europe, their sisters or brothers may follow; but there the matter will end. If we bring families from the towns, other townsfolk will come with them, or follow after them; but we have enough towns-people, except manufacturing people, already. If we bring farmers, we shall get their ploughmen, their hedgers, ditchers, shepherds, herdsmen, wheelwrights and blacksmiths, also. Every man living on the profits of agriculture in Europe knows he can do better here than there, if the farmer can live here. Every tradesman in the village knows he can live where his friend from the country can live. By aiming at the agricultural population we hit the towns-people more certainly than if we aimed at them directly.

There is little or no magnetic power in a family taken out of a city and transported to California. A farmer is not affected by that; he does not consider it any proof that he could improve his condition by following in the footsteps of his city friend. But when a farmer transports himself from the old East to the new West, he becomes a loadstone and his acquaintances are moved to follow in his wake. Much depends on which end of the chain we pull at. If we pull at the city population we get only city people; if we drag out the farming population we get all classes. There is another view of this matter, taken from the aspect of affairs on this side. We may put one hundred thousand people into San Francisco, and after the immediate effect of the introduction of so much capital and so many consumers is gone, there is nothing left. Add the same number of persons to our farming population and the effect upon our general business, internal navigation and commerce will be permanent."

Something has been said about the capital required as the preliminary condition for this aid being granted, being too much. On the other hand we would rather see it doubled, and if there is any doubt in the mind of the Legislature, whether the State will obtain a *quid pro quo*—a full compensation for its outlay—that doubt would be removed by making the condition the possession of two thousand dollars; for the reason that the gross capital obtained by the country from this class of immigrants would be greater, and consequently the ability of the new comer to employ labor, and their liability to immediate taxation very much increased.

Section 17 is devoted to reports and such matter.

Section 18 is devoted to matters of routine, and also provides for a thorough audit of the affairs of the Board each half year by a Committee drawn from the honorary members of the Board.

Section 19 provides for a special tax of four cents on each one hundred dollars of assessed property. By asking four cents taxation instead of the total of the sums allowed by the bill to be expended, we cut down our own demand twenty-five thousand dollars, and leave a large margin to be filled up by private subscription.

Section 20 appropriates the Tide Land money to the Special Aid Fund. If the Tide Land money cannot be obtained and the Legislature does not choose to make an appropriation which would be equal to eight cents further taxation, Clauses sixteen and twenty can be dropped from the bill, and the other sections not being affected by the elision, the bill would comprehend a complete scheme of immigration. But before a decision, which would cut these clauses out of the bill, is arrived at, allow us to remind you: First, that the State Board will not control the spending of this money; it will pass direct from the Treasurer to the person you intend it to benefit. Second, that we do not, in making this recommendation, need to plead the adage, "nothing venture, nothing win:" it cannot be said of this portion of the expenditure that the outlay



will be a fact and the gain a speculation. If no such farmers come, the State pays nothing. If one thousand only come, the State pays for one thousand and no more. If all the two hundred thousand dollars is paid out, California will, before the payment is made, have obtained a body of farmers, besides other immigrants, and an amount of capital which must make times in California prosperous—prosperous beyond all present hopes—for many years to come and future taxation for all a far lighter burden than we now labor under.

#### COST OF PROCURING IMMIGRANTS.

The Hon. Robert Watt, Esq., State Controller, estimates that four cents taxation on the assessed value of property in the State, will produce eighty thousand dollars for working the general machinery contemplated by the bill. With this sum, the trustees of the Union estimate that fifty thousand immigrants can be brought into the country, with an average capital of one hundred dollars each, or five million dollars of money in the aggregate. But, for the sake of argument, we will say that only thirty thousand people, and three millions of dollars could be had for that outlay. The State expenditure on these people would be at the rate of two dollars and sixty-six cents per head, and the premium paid for the introduction of the three million dollars, allowing nothing for the people, would be two dollars and sixty-six cents per one hundred dollars cash, introduced into the State to the increase of our permanent capital. If instead of this money being brought into California in immigrant's pockets, it came to us through a bank, as foreign capital or loan, it would cost us at least ten per cent. per annum, and the principal would always be owing and liable to recall. In the former case the total outgoing would be one-fourth that rate, and have to be paid but once, and the principal is ours forever. In short, on the estimate of the trustees of the Union, the State would acquire the free use of the money in perpetuity, by paying the equivalent of three months' interest, computed at the lowest rate known in financial circles.

But the money in the pockets of the immigrants is but a small part of what they bring us. Thirty thousand immigrants would each have with them on the average, say fifty dollars' worth of personal property, or a total of one million five hundred thousand dollars' worth of goods, which is equal to the importation of that much merchandise, as a free gift from European manufacturers. Estimating that twenty thousand out of the thirty thousand would be able-bodied adults, their value to the State at the reduced computation of one thousand dollars each—which is less than the estimate made by the *Bulletin*, would be twenty million dollars. Thus allowing nothing for half-grown boys and girls, we have:

|                                       |              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| Value of the adult immigration.....   | \$20,000,000 |
| Value of their personal property..... | 1,500,000    |
| Cash in their pockets.....            | 3,000,000    |
| Total .....                           | \$24,500,000 |

The much-abused bill then proposes to enrich the State beyond all doubt, risk and denial, by presenting California with the enormous sum of twenty-four million five hundred thousand dollars, for the trifling percentage of thirty-two and a-half cents per one hundred dollars value received.

If, however, contrary to the opinions of all political economists, and our leading journals, we refuse to acknowledge that a white man's life-long services are worth anything to the State—though Koopmanschap asked the Southern planters one hundred and twenty-five dollars per head, paid on delivery, for impecunious Chinamen; and take only the money and goods of the thirty thousand immigrants into consideration, we offer four million five hundred thousand dollars for petty consideration of the payment of one and three-quarters of one per cent. of that great sum. Yet this is the terrible proposition that has raised the ire of a few newspaper writers. As a business proposition, it cannot be gainsaid.

Perhaps it may be urged, that we ought to get this great wealth without paying even this small percentage. Past experience shows we cannot. We are to-day, and have been for nearly ten years, making less advance in population and in wealth than any State in this great Union. We know that emigration is popular in the countries in which we propose to seek population; but if there are, as Col. Loomis says, twenty million of people in Europe, who look upon emigration to the United States or the Colonies, as a probable contingency; and ten million who are ready to start whenever they are invited, and their way is made clear—there is also much competition. Every State in the Union, and thirty British Colonies are seeking recruits in the same field.

#### COMPARED WITH LIFE INSURANCE.

There is nothing more popular in this country than life insurance, and judging by the number of companies, 31 in New York State and 30 in other parts of the country, there is no business more profitable. It is an American speciality. These companies necessarily spend large sums in management, agencies, soliciting and advertising. One company spends \$1,610,202 annually in managing its affairs and seeking new business. We are told that California will get immigration without agents, soliciting and advertising. We say she will not, and point out that she has not. Suppose a new Life Insurance Company were to open an office, and some economical director were to move that the Board instead of wasting the capital of its subscribers in salaries of agents and printing bills, should wait for business to come in voluntarily, and ask his colleagues to rely on the general reputation of the company for wealth to bring applicants. In these times of competition, the older companies that do advertise and do employ agents



would get all the business, and our supposed company might as well close its doors, and return its capital to its subscribers. It is just so with California. To get business—companies must spend. To get population, States—especially States distant from Europe—must appropriate money for immigration. Why, gentlemen, one company on this coast has spent one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars in five years in advertising alone—that is its yearly expenditure has been within five thousand of what we ask the State of California to spend in printing in all Europe. We want to advertise California among one hundred and twenty millions of people. That company has spent with extraordinary profitable results five-sixths of the sum in advertising among one million of people on this coast. The company alluded to spends fourteen dollars and fifty-nine cents per one hundred dollars of its receipts from premiums, and has succeeded far beyond any other financial company in the world. Its annual expenditure divided amongst all its policies, new and old, was twenty-six dollars and forty-five cents each. Levied on the new policies only, it was eighty-five dollars and twenty cents a policy. Compare this with the Immigrant Union's proposal—to guard in transportation and distribute in this country immigrants at two dollars and sixty-six cents per head. The highest insurance authorities have approved the enormous expenditure I have referred to. Thus it appears, therefore, that while an Insurance Company is justified in spending twenty-six dollars a year to obtain an assurer and keep his policy alive, there are people who would forbid the State of California spending for once and for all, one-tenth of the sum to obtain an inhabitant for California who will be a producer and a tax payer from his arrival to his death. Every male adult we bring in, and every boy that grows up to manhood among us will pay to the State for the remainder of his life in annual poll-tax should that form of taxation be continued so long, nearly as much money as we ask for bringing him here.

#### ANOTHER VIEW OF THE CASE.

The whole Bill, including the special aid clauses 16 and 20, contemplates an expenditure by the State of two hundred and eighty thousand dollars. We estimate with this sum that we could guarantee the State fifty thousand people and ten million dollars cash yearly. The greatness of the estimate the money, is based on the fact that the peculiar inducement held out to men with means to come would improve the quality of the immigration so much as to double the average of the cash in their pockets. That is, they would bring two hundred each. It is a simple calculation that if two hundred and eighty-thousand dollars will bring fifty thousand persons, the cost for all purposes chargeable against each, will be only

five dollars and sixty cents. A very reasonable price for a State to pay for first class immigrants, when Insurance Companies pay twenty-six dollars annually to obtain and retain their policy holders. The personal property would also be doubled in value if the immigrants, owning it, were generally of a wealthier class. But even restricting that to the New York estimate of fifty dollars of property each, we have :

|                                                                                |              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Cash in the Immigrants pockets.....                                            | \$10,000,000 |
| Personal baggage.....                                                          | 2,500,000    |
| Value of 30,000 abled-bodied men and women, allowing<br>for 20,000 minors..... | 30,000,000   |
| Grand Total.....                                                               | \$42,500,000 |

This extraordinary addition to our pecuniary and creative resources would be gained for the trifling outlay of sixty-five cents per one hundred dollars of value received, not allowing one dollar for the presence of twenty thousand half-grown boys and girls added to our rising generation. Is it necessary to say any more to prove that as a matter of business the outlay of eighty thousand dollars for thirty thousand people and three million dollars in cash, or the larger outlay of two hundred and eighty thousand dollars for fifty thousand people and ten million dollars in cash, is a reasonable method of spending the funds of the State.

I cannot do better than quote on this subject, one of the best authorities on commerce and finance in the State, Charles D. Carter.

"As a business proposition, probably the offer of an accession of fifty thousand people and ten million dollars capital a year, at a cost of two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand dollars should be accepted. Whose interest is it to oppose it? Not the small property owner—it gives permanent value to his homestead. Not the tradesman, retail or wholesale—it enlarges the number of his customers. Not the mechanic, for it revives the demand for his labor, while cheapening the cost of the articles he consumes. Not the tax-payer, for he will get five dollars relief in future taxation for fifty cents paid to establish a State Immigration Bureau."

#### OUR ESTIMATES.

We may be asked why we say fifty thousand people could be obtained yearly for California. First of all, let us state that two or three members of our Board, calculating from different data and experience and knowledge of the gains made by several States and Colonies, arrived at the same result as a moderate estimate for California if we had a good immigration law. The soundness of that estimate is verified by the letter of Col. Loomis, based on his experience of the work in Kansas—telling us that with proper exertion we can obtain one hundred thousand people in

two years for California. The experience of the Western States and of the British Colonies, shows it to be a reasonable estimate. Illinois gained eight hundred thousand people in ten years by the advertising of her resources. Other States have gained fifty thousand people a year by such means. In the *Morning Call* of January eighth, there is an extract from a Texas paper, stating that six hundred people a week were arriving at one port, Galveston, nearly all from Europe. Surely the advantages of California are equal to those of Texas—only they are not equally known. Look at what Queensland did in Great Britain. Look at what the Colony of Victoria—I mean Australia, not the little Island of Vancouver—has done and is doing to-day. She is doing more without the attraction of placer mining than she ever did with it. Of my own knowledge of England I affirm that there will be no more difficulty in getting people to set out for the Pacific States than to an Australian or South African Colony, if the same means are used; and far less difficulty than in inducing them to go to Canada or any province in the Dominion.

We divide the number we have given as our total estimate thus :

|                                                   |        |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Atlantic States and Canada.....                   | 5,000  |
| Great Britain and Ireland.....                    | 20,000 |
| Germany.....                                      | 20,000 |
| Each of the lesser agencies in Europe, 1,000..... | 5,000  |
| Total .....                                       | 50,000 |

The probability is, that if the accounts from this side reported general satisfaction among the new arrivals, every agent would be able to exceed the estimate given for his particular field. Of course it must be understood that this is over and above the small but regular immigration we are now receiving. From Europe direct, that does not much exceed two thousand souls a year.

### THE WEIGHT OF TAXATION.

Without raising the question here whether there might not be some method found of relieving the tax-payer from some of the burdens now imposed through our over anxiety to liquidate our debt in the shortest possible time; let us see what the actual burden upon the small property owner would be if the Legislature should appropriate the money asked for immigration.

The four-cent tax would take eight cents a year from the man who is assessed at two hundred dollars. Surely that additional burden would not hurt the poorest working man in California; especially if it would return life to our drooping trade, and procure him employment on one day that he would have otherwise wasted in idleness. If for all purposes,

special aid included, twelve cents is necessary, and if the tide-land money cannot be obtained, that is all we should ask, the man owning a horse and job wagon assessed at two hundred dollars would be called on to pay twenty-four cents, and the first time an immigrant employed him to haul his trunks from railroad or boat to hotel or boarding house, he would receive for the job three times the sum he had paid in taxes for inducing that immigrant to come.

But, it may be said, small real estate holders will feel the burden heavily. How? Will any property owner assessed at \$1,000, and the house and land so assessed has a market value of from \$1,500 to \$3,000, will any such property owner exclaim against the Legislature that asks him forty cents a year, or even \$1.20 a year on that property, especially if that paltry payment will add ten per cent. to the value of his homestead, or even prevent its value declining ten per cent.

In those overtaxed and half depopulated districts, formerly the seat of placer mining, there are many men holding on to property—all they have saved, perhaps, of thousands of dollars which passed through their hands in the lively days that have gone by—who can barely raise the money to pay their present taxes.

This is where the shoe will pinch. We have to say to the people of Tuolumne, Calaveras, Amador, El Dorado and Placer—Gentlemen, if we add a few cents to your State taxation, and by doubling your populations and enlarging the totals of your assessment rolls, divide your county burdens by one half, will you not pay those few cents cheerfully?

The man who is paying \$3 or \$4 per \$100 to his county, will not grumble at paying the State four cents or twelve cents extra, if he will have to pay for his county expenses one, two or three dollars less.

#### CONCLUSION.

Gentlemen : We know that we put our hands to this work without any thought of benefitting ourselves, except by sharing in the general prosperity that must accrue to California if the State undertakes this task. We do not ask you to believe our words, but to judge us by our deeds. Here is a bill which, if you should pass it in its present form, would place the nominees of the Union in a minority of two to seven in the Board. Had we desired to control this matter for selfish ends, should we have so framed the bill? Again, instead of asking a lump sum, as many advised us, we have been open and explicit as to the uses we thought the State funds should be expended on. We have been told in many quarters, "this is impolitic." We have replied, "it is honest." We have paid the members of the Legislature the compliment of laying before them a business affair in a business manner.

If, instead of passing the whole measure, you determine in your wis-



dom and your desire for economy to cut down its proportions, we shall have the satisfaction of having aroused the attention of the Executive and the Legislature to the most important material question that has been mooted in California since the inception of the Pacific Railroad. We shall have procured the commencement, on however small or inadequate a scale that commencement may be, of a work that will mark a new era in the history of the State. If, however, we fail entirely, and nothing is done in this session, we shall still have the satisfaction of having sown the seed which must grow in the minds of the people, and in a future Legislature bear its fruit. In the interval between your final adjournment and the meeting of your successors in this building, it is more than probable that California will find herself face to face with hard times—perhaps the hardest times our State has known for many years. Then we shall have the melancholy gratification of hearing on all sides regrets that some such measure as we have proposed had not become a law. If, however, you should grant our prayer and enact a good immigration law, yourselves, and the humble individuals who have promoted this matter, will have their reward in seeing California rapidly rise in population from the twentieth rank among her sister States to a position more in accordance with her area and her natural wealth.

ALEXANDER D. BELL.



# OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

OF

SAN FRANCISCO AND SACRAMENTO

ON THE

## Value and Importance of Immigration

AND

THE NECESSITY OF STATE AID,

BEING

EXTRACTS FROM EDITORIAL ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE MONTHS OF  
OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, AND DECEMBER, 1869, IN THE "BULLETIN,"  
"ALTA," "EXAMINER," "CALL," "CHRONICLE," "TIMES," AND  
"REAL ESTATE CIRCULAR," AND IN THE "STATE CAPITAL REPORTER," "BEE" AND "RECORD."

ALSO,

A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT LOOMIS ON THE METHOD ADOPTED  
IN PROMOTING IMMIGRATION TO KANSAS.

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PUBLISHED BY THE CALIFORNIA IMMIGRANT UNION.

JANUARY, 1870.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

LONDON



## The Opinions of the "Bulletin."

In the issue of August 28th, 1869, the *Bulletin*, speaking of the formation of an Immigration Bureau and the establishment of Immigrant Homes here, said: "The object is so good, and, if carried out with spirit, is likely to be productive of such benefit to all in populating our State with a thriving and self-supporting people, that we trust it will be encouraged."

On October 9th, in speaking of the formation of the Immigrant Union, the *Bulletin* said: "The organization of a society to encourage European immigration was needed in California, and will accomplish much good. California has not shared the benefits of that great movement of European emigration which sets steadily to the West. \* \* \* *Official recognition and aid may be secured, when it becomes apparent that the Union is managed on an impartial and public-spirited plan.* \* \* \* *Another year ought to bring us a fair proportion of European immigration, if we will only organize a practicable plan to guide it in our direction.* Illinois doubled her population in ten years after the railroad era began, gaining in one decade 800,000 souls. California, with a climate and soil so much more generous, an area so much more extensive, and resources and opportunities so much more various, ought to gain as much in the next five years. But to do so, she must follow the example of those shrewd Illinois citizens, who set energetic Emigration Societies in motion, and brought producing people to the very spots where they could labor profitably."

The *Bulletin* therefore urges us, by the example of the Western States, to labor in this cause so energetically as to bring 160,000 people a year to California.

On October 11th, the *Bulletin*, speaking of immigration by railroad, said: "*We need just now, most of all, half a million men, to take hold of all branches of productive industry.*"

In an article headed "Valuable Immigration," which appeared October 19th, the *Bulletin* spoke of the settlement of a single colony in Missouri, under the charge of a Swedish cotton manufacturer, of 1,200 families, probably 6,000 souls; also, of 1,000 English families, settling on a tract of land in Kansas; and said: "These are some of the numerous movements which prove that it is easy for us now to take our pick of European populations, where once we only got the refuse. \* \* \* Scarcely is there a craft or manufacture for which we might not, with proper effort,

procure adepts from Europe. Such is the class of labor we need. The time is ripe for it. \* \* \* California has special needs of this sort, and the Swedish enterprise we have described deserves the attention of all who are interested in immigration to this State—and who is not? Suppose we could obtain such a colony as this—six thousand in all—to purchase and settle upon a tract of land, either in our valleys as farmers, or in the foothills as growers and manufacturers of silk, or of fruits, wines, and brandies. The inducements we can offer for such immigration is the only thing in question. The immigrants themselves can undoubtedly be had. \* \* These wholesale consignments of families by the thousand to a single destination indicate design, foresight, calculation, and energy. California has lost four years of time, by failure, before the war ended, to complete the railroad which has just introduced her to the European world. The difficulty now will be to make her claims heard among the other contestants for Eastern immigration. \* \* We may well envy the Missourians this colony of 1,200 families of Swedes, and the Kansans their equal treasure of sturdy English families. THE ONLY WAY TO OBTAIN SUCH FOR OURSELVES IS TO ADVERTISE THE RESOURCES OF THE STATE THOROUGHLY IN EUROPE, AND TO AID IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE THE JOURNEY OF IMMIGRANTS HITHER, AND THEIR SETTLEMENT WHEN ARRIVED."

On October 21st, under the head of "How to get Immigrants," the *Bulletin* said: "Not long since, the State of Maine printed and distributed over the whole country a large pamphlet, setting forth in full detail the merits of the various water-powers on the rivers of that State, and the advantages offered there for lumbering. This instance of Yankee enterprise is worthy of imitation. To rehash the arguments in favor of advertising at this late day ought not to be necessary; and yet WHAT CALIFORNIA ESPECIALLY NEEDS JUST NOW, AND DOES NOT DO, MAY BE SUMMED UP IN THE WORD, ADVERTISING. *Those who have been isolated here for ten or fifteen years do not realize how little is known of this State in the East, and still less in Europe. But even were we as well known across the Atlantic as our sister States, still we should stand at such disadvantage in other respects as to need special efforts to secure our share of foreign immigration. \* \* No State can afford to remain inert or passive. Every one desiring to attract immigrants must copy the enterprising example of Maine, and either by STATE or corporate effort, make full exhibit of its resources and advantages, and disseminate the knowledge wherever it can be of use. In this view of the case, a step in the right direction has been taken by the Immigrant Union. \* \* IF IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE CAN BE OFFERED SOMETHING OF A DEFINITE CHARACTER, CAN BE POSTED THOROUGHLY IN REGARD TO WHERE THEY ARE GOING, WHAT THEY ARE TO DO, THE COST AND OTHER DETAILS OF THE ENTERPRISE, THEY WOULD BE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERWISE TO ENTER UPON THE SERIOUS TASK OF EMIGRATION OVER THOUSANDS OF MILES OF OCEAN AND LAND. WE THEREFORE COMMEND THE SUGGESTIONS OF THE IMMIGRANT UNION TO GENERAL ATTENTION.*"

On October 28th, in an article headed "The Value of an Immigrant,"

the *Bulletin* says: "The Southern Commercial Convention, recently in session at Louisville, held that the value of an immigrant settler is just \$1,500. Not an excessively high price, seeing that an able-bodied slave formerly brought that sum in the South. \* \* But if an immigrant settler is worth \$1,500 to the South, is he not worth as much to California? UPON THIS BASIS OF CALCULATION, IF 50,000 IMMIGRANTS COULD BE INFLUENCED TO SETTLE IN CALIFORNIA DURING THE YEAR 1870, THE WEALTH OF THE STATE WOULD BE AUGMENTED, ACTUALLY AND PROSPECTIVELY, ABOUT \$75,000,000."

On the same day, in another article, the *Bulletin* said: "One of the best things the Immigrant Union can do will be to collect and publish full information in regard to the amount, character, and location of public lands still open to homestead and pre-emption entry in California. \* \* Detailed information on all these points, but especially in regard to the sections of Government land now open to the settler, is just what will be most likely to induce immigration; and we understand that the Immigrant Union is industriously procuring such information as the foundation for its BROADER operation."

On the following day the *Bulletin* added: "It only needs proper publication of truthful information about our lands, climate, and resources, to bring here many European colonies, which would cultivate the soil, enlarge our trade and industry, build new towns and roads, and more than offset a kind of immigration which is much declaimed against by politicians."

On Nov. 6th, the *Bulletin* had an article "Immigrants and their Value," in which it said the value of immigrants has been variously estimated. The Louisville Convention set the mark at \$1,500, measuring probably the able-bodied man, and remembering the price current of a slave in old times. \* \* We have another and perhaps safer estimate from Frederick Kapp, one of the Commissioners of Emigration in New York City, and a man of learning and ability. In a paper read before the Social Science Association, he reckons "an emigrant worth just as much to this country as it costs to produce a native-born laborer of the same average ability. He estimates that this cost is \$1,500 in the case of a male and half as much for a female. Averaging the sexes and ages of immigrants, he estimates each worth \$1,125. He estimates further that immigrants bring an average of \$150 each in property from abroad; making the total accession of value from each \$1,275. Reckoning the rate of influx to be 300,000 immigrants a year, we are benefited to the extent of \$382,500,000 yearly, or more than \$1,000,000 a day.

On November 16th, in an article, the first that appeared after the publication, at the expense of the Union, of a pamphlet written by Mr. Hopkins, the *Bulletin* criticised some of the deductions from the statistics of mining, quoted approvingly the classification of the requirements of California in regard to population, advised the Board to abandon all income derived from commissions on the sale of private lands, and concluded a

long article, in which almost every topic in the pamphlet was touched upon, by saying: "*The Immigrant Union has laid out a large amount of work. If it will adhere strictly to the rule to keep out of politics, and out of all speculative schemes, we may hope it will do a good work for the State.*"

As in this article the Union was recommended to throw away that portion of its income derived from private individuals, and the intention of going to the Legislature for \$100,000, was prominently announced under the capitalized heading, "What the Union asks from the Legislature," and even the special aid clause with its demand for \$200,000 put forth in that pamphlet, we infer that the editors of the *Bulletin* endorsed the general views of the Union embodied in the bill since presented to the Legislature. The language of the pamphlet is as follows:

#### WHAT THE "UNION" ASKS FROM THE LEGISLATURE.

Now, the plan of the "Union," hitherto quoted, as to sending out agents to proclaim the advantages of our State in Great Britain, in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, France, etc., requires that only FIRST-CLASS MEN should be entrusted with so delicate and responsible a duty. To engage such men, respectable salaries and expenses must be paid. The State should pay those salaries and expenses, within limits to be fixed by law.

2d. To properly advertise among the millions of Europe the natural bounties of California, will require some laborious and skillful writing, and the translation and printing thereof by hundreds of thousands of copies. The State should pay for such labor and printing, as well as the postage and express charges thereon.

3d. The expenses of an Immigrant Depot (if any), and of the Labor Exchange to be connected therewith, should most undoubtedly be borne by the State, because there is no reason whatever why one individual should be taxed (whether by his own consent or otherwise) more than another, for a purpose equally beneficial to all the inhabitants of the State.

4th. The hospital expenses of indigent sick among immigrants being already assumed by the State under existing laws, need not enter into any new enactment. But on this point attention is respectfully drawn to the fact that a tax of \$5 for hospital purposes on women and children would bear very heavily on the immigration of families, whose presence among us is our greatest need, and would of itself prevent many from undertaking the journey. In New York, this tax is but \$2 50 in currency, and if our scheme succeeds, as we expect it will, the revenue from this source alone, in gold, would, as in New York (in currency), go very far towards paying the whole sum the "Union" would require to accomplish all its ends. This is, of course, upon the supposition that this tax is to be made equal and uniform in its operations.

5th. The salaries of such officers of the "Union" (or of such Commissioners of Immigration as the Legislature may provide to execute its enactments), whose whole time would be required in this public service, should be paid by the State.

For all of these purposes we believe the sum of \$100,000 per annum would be sufficient, if placed in the right hands, to add 50,000 persons during that time to our population. Those 50,000 persons, at a tax of \$2 50 per caput, would pay \$125,000 to the State, thus requiring no taxation whatever upon the present population to carry out the scheme.

On November 25th, the *Bulletin* had another article on the pamphlet, noticing the discussion raised on that portion devoted to mining matters, and concluded by saying that "having been too exclusively absorbed in mining hitherto, we should now give special attention to building up diversified agriculture and manufactures. *But immigration is needed for all these pursuits, and every LEGITIMATE MEANS should be used to obtain it.*" The editors of the *Bulletin* had then had the pamphlet ten days in their hands. They knew where the Union looked for its chief support, and when we remember that on at least two occasions, already referred to, they had



recommended the granting of State aid for the work proposed by this institution, we presume that State aid was the chief, if not the only, source of revenue meant when they used the words "legitimate means."

These extracts, which might be multiplied until tedious by repetition, are enough to show that the *Bulletin* has recommended all we ask. It has justified State aid, tacitly approved the sum named, impressed upon California the necessity of advertising—that is, if the word is used in its full sense—advertising by printing, lecturing, and personal solicitation—the necessity of providing facilities for cheaper traveling and for the care of immigrants upon the road, for the collection of information regarding the thousands of sections of surveyed land in this State still unoccupied, if not the offering of special inducements for farming immigrants. Other journals have approved the scheme step by step, and committed themselves to the doctrine that the Legislature should establish a State Board of Immigration, with sufficient funds.

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### The Opinions of the "Alta."

On October 16th, the *Alta* had an article admitting that California did not get her share of immigrants, and saying: "Yet if the State is ever to become anything more than a mere producer of raw material, it is certain the population must be reinforced by skilled labor from somewhere." The *Alta* said, "California was in its infancy, and without population and manufacturers could not compete with older States. It lamented that no well directed effort had been made to procure immigration, and approved generally the plans of the Union."

On October 20th, under the head of "Warning off Immigration," it condemned those newspapers that kept reiterating the statement that there are no lands here suitable for immigrants in moderate circumstances. It said: "Instead of crowing over a state of facts which does not exist, the press of California ought to advocate some system by which the real condition of things can be duly ADVERTISED to the world. There are hundreds of thousands of acres of desirable arable lands inside our own State line open to occupation, within the reach of men of the most modest means. The time will come when that restless wave of 'human movement,' which we call immigration, will cover these rich acres. THAT TIME MAY BE HASTENED BY A WISE SYSTEM OF ENCOURAGEMENT UNDERTAKEN BY THE STATE, AIDED BY WELL DIRECTED PUBLIC OPINION."

In the review of the now famous "Common Sense" pamphlet, which appeared in the *Alta* of Nov. 27th, there was no rebuke of the proposal to ask the Legislature for \$300,000 State aid—for immigration purposes, but much about the relative importance of mining. The article may be

claimed as a tacit approval of the chapter "What the Union asks of the Legislature."

On the 29th the *Alta* rebuked the Immigrant Union for proposing to amalgamate with the Labor Exchange, but spoke, certainly, without disapprobation of the Trustees' of the Union avowed intention of asking the Legislature for the sum of \$100,000 for general purposes.

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### Opinions of the "Examiner."

On October 10th, in an article headed "White or Chinese," the *Examiner* says: "The best work the next Legislature can do, is to organize a liberal scheme of immigration, such as has filled the Western States. CALIFORNIA HAS NEVER SPENT A DOLLAR IN THIS CAUSE. SOME OF THE WESTERN STATES HAVE SPENT MILLIONS. Their only inducement was to fill up their vacant lands. We have all the inducements they had, and beyond them a greater one, to keep out the Chinaman by filling up the places which they will otherwise occupy."

On October 27th, the *Examiner* reiterated the recommendation for the establishment of a State Board of Immigration, and said that as each person would bring at least \$50 in cash to the country, *we could, by displaying the energy of the Western States, add 20,000 persons and \$1,000,000 to our wealth. If we sought a better class of immigrants than the average of Castle Garden, every 20,000 immigrants would bring us \$2,000,000 perhaps \$3,000,000 or more.* Tenant farmers in Germany, England, Ireland and Scotland, would have, at least, \$1,000 a family, and at five in a family the average would be greater. "A COMMUNITY WHICH SPENT ONE MILLION IN BRINGING 20,000 SUCH FAMILIES—THAT IS, GAVE THEM A BONUS EQUAL TO THEIR FARE, AS AN INDUCEMENT TO COME HERE INSTEAD OF GOING ELSEWHERE, WOULD RECEIVE TWO TO FOUR DOLLARS FOR EVERY ONE IT SPENT IN THE WORK. If California, at a less expense than a free passage from New York can get a select class of moneyed immigrants, practical, self-helping and experienced men to come, the additional revenues would amply repay the State for its outlay. It earnestly recommended the Legislature to study these bearings of the case. It then argued that every able-bodied emigrant man and woman, is worth at least \$1,000 to the State, and placed its own estimate at \$1,500. It therefore estimated the productive value apart from the capital introduced, of 10,000 such people at \$15,000,000, and concluded, "IF THE STATE IS ENRICHED BY THE BIRTH OF EVERY CHILD, HOW MUCH WOULD IT PROFIT BY OBTAINING THE LIFE-LONG SERVICES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE PRIME OF LIFE, AT THE COST OF \$10 OR \$20 EACH."

On November 19th, the *Examiner* noticed the pamphlet, and while objecting to the merging of the Labor Exchange in the institution, said: "The

Managers of the Union are in earnest, and in all that is good, they propose to do, they will receive our cordial support."

On November 26th, ten days after the pamphlet had been placed in the editor's hands, the *Examiner* had an article under the heading, "A few Reasons for Aiding Immigration;" it said: "There are many grounds on which the press of the country, and members of the Legislature, may advocate the propriety of the State making a reasonable appropriation for carrying on the work of promoting immigration. One of these is the necessity of counteracting the evils resulting from the crowding of Chinamen into California." It then made an elaborate argument against the Chinese, showing that their number was only limited by the means of the six companies to import them. It concluded: "The only way short of repressive legislation, to keep out Chinamen, is to foster white immigration; the only way to preserve the foothill counties from actual abandonment by whites, is to send into them the population suited to their soil; the only way to lighten the load of State burdens, is to extend the blessing of a thrifty, industrious, self-dependent population over every county of the State, instead of limiting it to a dozen; the only way to restore mining, is to increase population in other employments, and so build up a diversity of interests for mutual help and support; finally, the only way to maintain San Francisco itself, in a condition of stability and progress, is to promote immigration; AND THE ONLY EFFECTUAL WAY OF OBTAINING IT IS TO GIVE STATE AID TO THE WORK."

On December 13th, with the pamphlet and the Governor's message, on the editor's desk, the *Examiner*, in an article headed "Worth Doing Well," said: "It may be taken for granted that the Legislature now in session, will respond to the recommendation of the Governor, and vote a reasonable appropriation for immigration purposes." It said, "the Union cares little who does the work; a great deal how it is done." It spoke of the rare qualities requisite in the commissioners, if the work is to succeed. It admits that the Legislature may not approve our plans, but says "they ought not to be cast aside for the cruder ideas of men who have given little or no study to the subject, and that a difference about the constitution of the Board does not necessarily involve a change in the method of working."

"There is one recognized way of working up immigration, and that is very much like that used by Missionary churches: free preaching, and the distribution of tracts. So WITH IMMIGRATION; AGENTS WHO CAN TALK, LECTURE AND WRITE, AND A FREE USE OF PRINTER'S INK, DOES THE BUSINESS. The people at the East and Europe, must be set thinking about California, and a desire for more information must be aroused. In the Atlantic States the newspapers—theirs and ours—can do something. Abroad we cannot rely upon the regular journals. We cannot expect foreign newspapers to work directly in our behalf, especially as in many cases their interests conflict with ours, and therefore our expenses will be greater."

"The field we have to work upon is very large, embracing a population of 120,000,000 in those districts of Europe which our agents should visit. If we could, by two years' work, get one in one thousand of these 120,000,000 to emigrate to this country, California would find herself travelling at railroad speed toward wealth. If the one in one thousand, were picked men, and above the average in health, energy and experience, if not of capital, California would find herself travelling at express rates to a leading position among her sister States. If the one in one thousand can be had, it is worth trying the whole thousand to find the right man, and it is equally worth while to try every one thousand. If we know that we can get one in one thousand to come, *we shall be standing in our own light if we do not, within two years, make every man in Northern and Western Europe, and in Great Britain, know more about California than he did before.*"

\* \* \* IT IS WITH CALIFORNIA AS WITH MEN, WHATEVER IS WORTH DOING AT ALL IS WORTH DOING WELL."

On December 4th, under the heading of "Decided Improvements," and noticing the changes in the Board, the *Examiner* said: "*These acts will strengthen the Union in the good opinion of the people of California, and MUST INSURE THEM THE CORDIAL SUPPORT OF THE LEGISLATURE.*"

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### The Opinions of the "Morning Call."

In an article on October 7th, headed "Prosperity and Immigration," the *Call* attributes all the dullness which then and now affects California, to the disproportion between the number of dealers and professional men, and the number of producers, and said: "There are not enough country customers to support the people living in towns." It added that neither the natural growth of population, nor the present rate of immigration would satisfy our desires, or even maintain us in our present condition of comparative affluence. "*The question which, day by day, will press itself more and more upon the people of this coast, whatever their grade or occupation, is, How can we increase our producing and consuming (that is our white) population?*"

On October 9th, the *Call* said: "Crowding the country with Chinese laborers, or even white paupers, would only reduce the rate of wages and decrease the power of working men to purchase the merchant's goods. FARMERS WITH THEIR FAMILIES AND SOME CAPITAL, ARE THE CLASS OF IMMIGRANTS WE WANT. \* \* \* Now is the time to prove the assertions that have been made regarding the country. Our enormous wheat crop, produced by so few farmers, is in itself a testimonial in our favor, that cannot be gainsaid. Now is the time for San Francisco to lead the public spirit of the State, by giving activity and life to the newly formed Cali-



ifornia Immigrant Union. If this is done the interior towns, and ultimately the State, in its corporate capacity, will lend a hand in the good work, and our population, instead of increasing at the rate of 20,000 or 30,000 a year, will move forward as the populations of the Western States have done, in answer to their well organized efforts.

On October 13th, the *Call* said: "As we have before shown one of the best methods of fighting Chinese labor, is to meet it with a better class—white. The last cause (the *Call* had been discussing the hard times,) *the financial depression would be entirely removed by immigration on a large scale, of the class we have already named, as desirable population—Agricultural families, with capital enough to go to work at once on their own account.* IF WE COULD ADD, THIS WINTER, 50,000 MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, TO OUR FARMING POPULATION, WE MIGHT, AT LEAST, EXPECT TO INCREASE BY ONE-THIRD OUR NEXT GRAIN CROP, AND THE PROSPERITY THIS ADDITIONAL TRADE WOULD GIVE ALL CLASSES IN THE STATE, WOULD PREVENT A RENEWAL NEXT AUTUMN OF THE COMPLAINT THAT THERE IS A DEARTH OF EMPLOYMENT FOR UNSKILLED MALE LABOR IN THIS CITY."

On November 19th, the *Call* had a rather bitter article on the impropriety of bringing paupers to California. One sentence is: "The immigration that California needs, and such as the *Call* has advocated and still advocates, is such as are independent, and not broken, nor beggars, when they reach our wharves. We want men and their families, who have some means, who are able to buy or lease land, and make themselves farms, or who are able to enter, independently, on other pursuits."

On November 25th, the *Call* said: "The main object of the California Immigrant Union, the diffusion of correct information, and the extension, through agents, of a general invitation to those in the East and Europe, thinking of emigrating, to come to California, is excellent." This was written twelve days after we had made it known through a pamphlet, of which 10,000 copies have been distributed, that we should ask the Legislature for \$300,000.

In the same article it said: "GIVING EXTRA INDUCEMENTS FOR AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES, WITH MEANS TO START THEMSELVES IN LIFE, IS A PRACTICABLE MEASURE, AND IF GUARDED BY PROPER CHECKS, MAY BE VERY USEFUL IN BRINGING IN THE CLASS OF IMMIGRANTS WE MOST WANT, AND WHICH WILL BE MOST PROFITABLE TO THE STATE. \* \* \* THE IMMIGRANT UNION, AS A STATE ORGANIZATION, MUST PLACE ITSELF ABOVE ALL INFLUENCES THAT MAY INTERFERE WITH ITS LEGITIMATE BUSINESS."

On the same day, in an article headed "Work for the Legislature," the *Call* wound up as follows: "*And in connection with this question, the Legislature may move towards some sensible scheme of National and State immigration, one that shall encourage and secure, as far as possible, such classes of immigrants, only, as shall give assurance that they will prove a gain, instead of a loss, to the State; particularly farmers, that will reach the State not*

*helpless, moneyless, dependent, but men and their families who can purchase or lease farms, and cultivate them, and who will be content to make five times as much money with one-half the work, in the finest climate on earth, instead of the short crops, small gains, and rough times they have been accustomed to elsewhere."*

In its "Talk on Change," on November 30th, the *Call* said the mercantile community would "endorse before the Legislature, a project for extending money aid to immigrants, under the control of a State Board of officers. THE SCHEME IS, AFTER ALL, PROBABLY THE ONLY ONE CALCULATED TO BE DIRECTLY PRODUCTIVE OF FRUIT. \* \* \* It is to securing the immigration of agriculturists, therefore, that exertion should be chiefly directed, because in that field it is likely to be most successful."

On December 1st, the *Call* said: "WE HEAR NOTHING BUT UNQUALIFIED APPROVAL OF THE SUGGESTION AS TO THE METHOD OF EXTENDING STATE AID TO IMMIGRANTS. It is only to be extended to heads of families, who shall be agriculturists, and prove that upon landing here they will have at least \$1,000 in possession. Then when they shall have settled upon agricultural land, they will be entitled to receive from the State the sum of \$25 for each adult member of the family. In order that the propriety of this scheme may commend itself to popular approval, it is only necessary to point out that these agriculturists will at once become, and thereafter continue to be, employers of other labor of every sort. They hire carpenters to build their houses; buy lumber, which supports lumbermen; tools and implements, clothing and groceries, which give employment to manufacturers and producers in their several lines. The immigrant, with \$1,000 in his pocket, is more than \$1,000 more valuable than the immigrant without—in this, that the latter can only go to work at \$30 per month, while the former buys tools and sets three men to work at the same wages. The produce of their labor afterwards pays the wages.

"It is not to be supposed that the immigrants who are actually assisted will be the only ones attracted to the country, for experience, not theory merely, proves the contrary. In instance: a Yorkshireman induced nine other heads of families to migrate with him to the comparatively unknown settlement of Natal. Before the vessel left Hull, the number of souls on board exceeded 350. One family attracted others. The same effect will flow from the same cause in the case of immigration to California. In an agricultural neighborhood, one family cannot pull up its stakes and set off for the antipodes without provoking much discussion among its neighbors, and by the time that one shall have made up its mind to take the momentous step, a half dozen adventurous spirits will have made up their minds to be of the party."

On December 7th, in an article headed "Cheap Lands or Sparse People," the *Call* said: "'After a pause comes a calm.' Now that the Overland railroad has not brought its thousands to swarm in all our val-

leys, and its hundreds of millions of dollars to buy up all our farm lands and city lots, it is but natural that the people should be looking around, as we see on every side, for some rational method for settling our country with a population that shall be abiding and worthy of our soil and climate. It seems agreed that immigration, to be of value, must consist of the family, come from what country it may. Hordes of male immigrants have not accomplished the desired result of an intelligent, industrious, social, and abiding population. They have proved beyond denial that the family must go with the man." It then makes an elaborate argument on the moral and social value of the family to the State.

On the following day, the *Call* adds: "As was said in effect yesterday, we have no right to anticipate a great influx of the immigration most needed, unless by some means we make it an object to come here."

On December 26th, the *Call* said: "Although the greatest value of immigrants is not the money they may bring with them, still it is worth a moment's attention to arrive at an approximate knowledge of what an incoming population brings in ready cash. For always some of this necessary thing they must have before their willing hands can bring in the means of living." After showing what the researches of the New York Commissioners have positively ascertained, which was \$6,800,000 for each 100,000 immigrants, and was undoubtedly much larger, because the immigrants from various motives concealed their affairs, it says: "PROBABLY 10,000 IMMIGRANTS TO THIS STATE WOULD ADD A MILLION OF DOLLARS, AND MIGHT ADD SEVERAL MILLIONS TO THE PERMANENT CAPITAL OF THE COUNTRY, BESIDES THE FAR GREATER BENEFIT THEY WOULD BE IN THE NEW WEALTH THEY WOULD MAKE IN THE CULTIVATION OF THE GROUND, MANUFACTURES, AND MINING Up to a certain point of population, an increase of it, of a self-sustaining character, is a benefit. We need not for many years fear an overplus of valuable population."

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### The Opinions of the "Times."

The *Times*, though now merged in another paper, during its latter life undoubtedly represented the views of a very intelligent and tolerably numerous class of Californians. This was shown by the general expression of regret at its sale to its rivals. In an article, October 28, on Immigration, it said, up to that time, "none of the opponents of the Chinaman have interested themselves practically in the only rational and feasible antidote to such immigration—namely, the immigration of white men."

In an article, published October 27th, on the success of Kansas, it describes their method of getting immigration. In another part of this pamphlet will be found a letter from J. W. Loomis, Esq., President of that

association, showing how closely the Immigrant Union has followed the Kansas plan in the bill before the Legislature. The *Times* said: "One of the most remarkable features of this Kansas immigration is the general prosperity of the settlers. They appear to be nearly all well-to-do farmers and artisans, who have saved enough money elsewhere to enable them to stock their lands, and lay in stores of agricultural implements, etc. These are the people we want to settle up our valleys and foothills, and we may, perhaps, learn a lesson of some value from the way they do things in Kansas. \* \* They establish agencies in all the principal cities of Europe. They disseminate all kinds of information with a bountiful hand. They tell the intending settler exactly what he wants to know, and they lead him exactly where he wants to go. \* \* Competition between States is likely to be quite as keen as competition between cities or private business firms; and the State where the people are most united, most public-spirited and liberal in their views, must surely take the lead in this question of immigration and settlement. Let us, then, take the example of Kansas to heart, and see wherein we can imitate her with advantage."

On October 30th, the *Times* published a long argument under the heading, "*The Cost and Profit of an Immigrant.*" In this article, which has been republished in several ways, it was shown how much the State would gain in money and population by expending \$200,000 in the way provided for by Section 16 of the Bill.

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### Opinions of the "Chronicle."

In an article headed "Agricultural Population," published October 10th, the *Chronicle* said: "In this State there are not more than 100,000 people, if so many, directly engaged in agriculture, and with many other products, they have raised a crop of wheat this year amounting to 20,000,000 bushels. So small a number of people never raised so great a crop; but after all it is not a tithe of what the State could easily do, even while giving an equal increased attention to other articles of export and consumption. The few thousand farmers in California are, in truth, carrying the country on their backs. But for their labors we should indeed have hard times. If we could between this and the close of the coming seed time double the number of our farmers, and thereby double the number of acres under crop, we might expect 40,000,000 bushels of wheat next year." After speaking of the extent of country open to agriculturists, the *Chronicle* continues: "Having the land, we only want the farmers to till it. In the Eastern States, and more especially in Europe, there are thousands of families trained to agricultural pursuits, who, if the case was properly laid before them and the proper inducements offered, would



cheerfully set out for the Pacific. Here is the land and there are the people. We want them, and they would gladly come if, besides asking them to set out for our distant land, we would do something toward helping them to make the journey. The organization or Legislature that will solve this immigration problem and turn a stream of agricultural families on to the vacant lands of this State, will do so much toward establishing permanent prosperity amongst us that its members may fairly claim to stand at the head of the list of the public benefactors of California."

In an article "The Topic of the Day," published October 30th, the *Chronicle* says: "*The suggestion that immigration is a vital necessity to the well-being of California, and that it could only be obtained in any appreciable measure, by legislative action, has been adopted by almost all our leading contemporaries in town and country. The leading papers in San Francisco, Sacramento, San Jose, Marysville, Stockton and other places, seem unanimously to approve of it; papers not generally favorable to Democratic Legislators dipping into the public treasury, declare their intention of laboring for this end, and of sustaining their county members in voting and working for it. No idea has been suggested for legislative action which has met with such universal favor, for while within our own knowledge, at least twenty of our exchanges have touched upon this subject, and several of them repeatedly, we have not yet met with a single editorial article. That money for this purpose will be voted, there can hardly be a doubt, and if it is judiciously expended, and the right class of immigrants selected, the whole State will be benefitted. Again we reiterate that aiding men accustomed to farming, with means of supporting themselves, until the first crop can be realized, to settle upon our millions of unoccupied acres, will enlarge the demand for labor, and give solid prosperity to every industry in the State. Not only will it bring back to life our waning trade, but men of every craft, merchants, carpenters, builders, blacksmiths, and a hundred other occupations, will find their services sought for with an eagerness they never before experienced.*"

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### The Opinions of the "Real Estate Circular."

In the September number, the establishment of the Immigrant Union was noticed, and the remarks closed with these words: "Let us aid this immigration movement in every way in our power. If legislative aid is needed, it should be granted, under proper restrictions."

In the December number, after reading the bill, the *Circular* said: "Other States have grown rich by immigration aid societies. If we would grow rich, we must also use such means. A special clause must be inserted to correct the introduction of too much mere labor, and make the relations more equal between those offering employment and those seek-

ing work. As a business proposition, probably the offer of an accession of 50,000 people, and \$10,000,000 capital a year, at a cost of \$250,000 or \$300,000 should be accepted. Whose interest is it to oppose it? Not the small property owner—it gives permanent value to his homestead. Not the tradesman, retail or wholesale—it enlarges the number of his customers. Not the mechanic, for it revives the demand for his labor, while cheapening the cost of the articles he consumes. Not the tax-payer, for he will get five dollars relief in future taxation for fifty cents paid to establish a State Immigration Bureau. We hope to see some plan agreed upon that will meet the hearty approval of the press of all shades of politics."

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### The Opinions of the "State Capital Reporter."

On Nov. 13th, the *State Capital Reporter* had an article on COOLIE IMPORTATION OR WHITE IMMIGRATION. It said, after speaking of the clandestine way Koopmanschap was working, we do not see other immigration movements carried on clandestinely. The discussion now progressing through the journals of every county in the State, has for its object the introduction of foreign population into California; but, so far from desiring to cloak their intentions and conceal their schemes, the California Immigration Union is taking unusual pains to enlighten the members of the Legislature and the people generally on the nature of their plan for bringing immigrants into the country. There is not a greater difference between the way in which Koopmanschap has set about his work of bringing in his Chinese, and the way the California Immigrant Union has commenced the work of bringing Europeans, than there is between the miserable Mongolian paupers who are to be kidnapped in the suburban districts of Canton, and the free white German, Irish or British farmer, who is to be united with his family, and capital to settle among us. Great as is the moral difference between Koopmanschap's method of catching coolies and *smuggling* them into the country, and the Immigrant Union's plan of *persuading* civilized and intelligent Europeans voluntarily to make California their home, it is not nearly so great as will be the difference between the moral effect of one class and the other upon the ultimate prosperity and peace of the States they are located in.

There is, however, a point of agreement—both schemers propose to spend money on the work. Mr. Koopmanschap asks his clients to pay out for each man brought direct from China, \$130 passage, outfit, money, etc.; \$15 dollars brokerage, and \$40 for traveling expenses across the continent, \$185 in all; while the California Immigrant Union undertakes to introduce white families, averaging in men, women and children, five or six, for \$100 a family, a little more than one-half what the man-dealer asks for a single being of an inferior race. If it will pay individuals or corporations, for

selfish ends to respond to Mr. Koopmanschap's circular with orders for a few thousand China "make-shift" laborers, it will certainly pay a free State and enlightened people to spend the lesser sum to bring over a few thousand of the better European white families. The one class besides being paupers when they come, will hoard the bulk of their earnings until their return, contributing little or nothing to our trade or commerce, and will poison the moral, social and political atmosphere of the country. The other class will bring ten times the amount of money into the country that their introduction would cost, and will add at least four times as much, man for man, as any Chinaman, to the annual production of the country. Above all, they will not only become citizens themselves, but will rear sons and daughters who will grow up Americans by education and associations.

\* \* \* We have at this moment two immigration movements rivals to each other, at work in this State—one for *white* freemen, and the other for yellow coolies. Certainly, Koopmanschap is right in expecting the future owners of yellow labor to furnish security that they will foot the bills, as they will be the only people except himself benefited by the traffic. As it is certainly true that the whole State will be benefited by an immigration of white freemen, with capital, it therefore seems fair that if the people desire this class of immigration, the State should bear the necessary but trifling cost of obtaining it.

Koopmanschap hopes, no doubt, for some success in his scheme. Equally so is the California Immigrant Union hopeful of success. There is this difference, however, in their relative chances: while the California Immigrant Union's plan seem to be generally popular from San Francisco to Alpine county, and from San Diego to Del Norte, Koopmanschap's scheme finds no public favor, but on the contrary, will be generally condemned throughout California as a disgrace and a shame to the nation.

In another article on our immigration system, the *State Capital Reporter* said: "It is not to our credit that in this State, with millions of acres capable of supporting in comfort and competence, people of our own race, THE ONLY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE DOING ANYTHING TO POPULATE CALIFORNIA ARE CHINESE. Six companies in San Francisco, are steadily engaged in aiding Chinamen to come to California, and we are doing nothing. *It is true; we have often talked of encouraging immigration, and now there is a spirited effort to establish a California Immigration Bureau, on a sound footing, with State aid.* The Chinese are, however, beforehand with us, and are introducing 1,000 yellow skinned pagans a month, and will have 10,000 or 12,000 more in the country before we can get the first batch of European emigrants here. If there were no other advantages in white immigration, but to set off and counteract the poison of the Chinese Coolie system, it would be a sufficient reason for our Legislature taking up the work and organizing a white Immigration Bureau.

THE CHINESE COMPANIES SPEND FROM \$75 TO \$100 ON EVERY IMMIGRANT THEY BRING OVER. \* \* \* We need immigrants; we need them in our agricultural counties; we need their produce to feed the population we already have in our towns; we need them as customers for our domestic manufactures. \* \* \* We can only obtain them by inviting them, by spreading before them a full statement of the opportunities there are for industrious men, with knowledge of some one of the various employments of life, to improve their condition and reap a rich harvest, while they have the capacity for enjoying the fruits of early toil. These are classes which California especially needs—families accustomed to agricultural pursuits, and possessed of the means of following their occupation here. *To obtain these, the State can afford to be liberal. Ten thousand farmers—grain growers, dairymen, graziers and others, would double the agricultural productions of this State; they would each, on the average, represent a family including children of six persons, or 60,000 souls. Ten thousand such heads of families could be had from Germany and the British Isles, by paying a portion of the expenses of bringing their wives and children.* A much larger number of families from Europe land in the United States every year, and almost without exception, they are possessed of the means of stocking a small farm with all that is necessary for beginners. 'If we induce half that number to come to California 'within the next two years, we will, with the single people, mechanics, 'tradesmen, laborers, and others from towns, add nearly 100,000 persons 'to our population.' If population is necessary to make agriculture general, and agriculture is the natural basis of the wealth of the State, the sooner we set about obtaining population the better. It will not do to content ourselves with the miserable sweepings of Hong Kong and Canton; we must not fill the State with a bogus article, but with men, women and children, of like blood, faith and social habits of ourselves."

On November 23d, the *State Capital Reporter* discussed Mr. Hopkins' pamphlet favorably; made no remonstrances against the claim for aid, and quoting the sentences relating to the class of population required here, said there could be no difference of opinion on the subject. It said: "On these points all are agreed. The question which the Immigrant Union is putting to the people of this State is: Whence shall Immigration be solicited? Koopmanschap and his friends, say from China; the people of this State, at more than one election, have said no, and there is no probability of their reversing that decision. Out of the necessity for a better class of immigration, and the refusal to be content with, or even tolerate the forced immigration of Chinamen, has arisen the California Immigrant Union. \* \* \* WE OUGHT, IN THIS STATE, TO MAKE TREMENDOUS EFFORTS TO KEEP OUT THE COOLIES, who threaten to flood the Nation, by filling up every vacant place. We owe it to ourselves, to our children, to our State and to our common Nation, to *prosecute the work of introducing white immigrants, with all our means and all of our energies.*"



On December 6th, the *State Capital Reporter*, under the heading of "Good Ideas and Good Works," said: "The Immigration Union has had to run the gauntlet of public criticism, and has received some sharp blows during the past few weeks, but appears, at this moment, healthier and stronger than ever. The idea of fostering immigration, especially of fostering white immigration, and of the very best class of white immigration, has never been unpopular in any portion of this State for a single day. Some people have doubted the good faith of the Union; others have differed from the officers about the propriety of the means proposed for accomplishing the work. *The work itself, next to the equalization of assessments, is probably the most popular topic the Legislature will have to discuss.*"

After some general remarks on the work done by the Board, it continues: "The Board, however, is doing more than theorizing, or making strength for itself, in the eyes of the Legislature. It is doing much practical work in helping the immigrants who are now arriving." \* \* \* "With the Legislature these deeds will be stronger arguments than any words, and we have no hesitation in saying, that the California Immigrant Union, though only founded in October last, has been productive of more actual good to the State, by its practical labors, and the information it has called out regarding the resources of every part of the State, than all the ephemeral Immigration aid schemes which have hitherto existed in California."

In an article on "White Immigration and Chinese Labor," published on December 10th, the *Reporter*, after saying that the Governor's recommendation on immigration, expresses the sentiment of every intelligent man who understands public opinion in this State, and that white immigration is the best way of discouraging Chinese immigration, goes on: "'He wisely, we think, however, warns the Legislature against voting 'too large an appropriation. We are aware that some of our contemporaries have spoken of so extravagant a sum as ONE MILLION DOLLARS.' \* \* What the views of the special advocates of immigration are, has been made public, but, we believe, are comparatively moderate. 'Such a sum as may be necessary for management, for printing, the necessary agents here, New York and Baltimore, and in Great Britain, Ireland, France and Germany, and possibly some small inducement to two or three special classes of families—say farmers and vine and silk-growers, will do to begin with.' \* \* The message, in substance, recommends, a reasonable outlay by the State on the plan usually adopted by other States, and the British Colonies, for similar ends, and *we have no doubt that our representatives will carry out the gubernatorial recommendation. Should they, in their judgment, see fit to do so, and the money is wisely spent, the moral and material results of their action will make this session remembered for years to come, as the commencement of an era of permanent prosperity hardly dreamt of even by the best friends of California.*

On December 13th, the *Reporter* had another article on the same subject endorsing the Governor's message, and reiterating that while Chinese either hoarded their money or sent it out of the country, we needed men with families, who will make in this State their permanent homes, and who will become identified with and take an interest in the prosperity of California.

### The Opinions of the Sacramento "Bee."

The *Sacramento Bee*, in an article headed "Population in Our Time," published October 18th, 1869, said : " But agriculture requires population, and that is our great need. Hitherto we have never made an organized effort to induce immigration to this coast. There were reasons why it was neither necessary nor practicable. The way is now therefore clear, and we have but to follow the example of the Western States, and we shall obtain the same results. All of them spent State funds in inviting and aiding population to come and take up their lands, and if we would have this State even moderately populated in our time we must take the same course. We need not bring, and, indeed, should not encourage paupers to come ; but while inviting all useful classes, should, if we aid any, select for assistance practical farmers with some means and large families. These would be the best population the State could have, and any amount the State, within reason, spent in inducing them to settle among us, would be money well laid out.

On November 3d, the *Bee*, in an article on the establishment of a steamship line from Bremen to Aspinwall, said : " This is just what California wants. *Even if by State aid we send accredited agents to Europe, to set forth the advantages of California as a home for settlers, the work will gain largely by such co-operation.* \* \* This new steamship enterprise is most opportune. Now, for the first time, California has opened her eyes to the vital-necessity, unless she would retrograde in prosperity, of developing her agricultural resources."

On December 2d, in an article headed "Immigration in Missouri," the *Bee* said : " MISSOURI HAS A STATE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION. *The public journals of that State agree in the opinion that the money thus expended has done more for the general prosperity and advancement of Missouri, than could twice the amount expended in any other manner. The State, as most of her public men claim, is becoming great, populous, and wealthy from this cause, and they assert that the investment is a good one. But whether that be true or not, we are satisfied, from the tone of her public journals and public men, that the investment is a popular one.* By this means many thousands of laboring men, mechanics, farmers, and not a few small capitalists, are annually induced to settle in that State. This Board, through pamphlets and other means, makes official proclamation of its resources, wants, and extent of

Missouri. The climate and other advantages are not forgotten. Hence, these facts, coming to the notice of people who contemplate a change, have much influence in determining their location, as is proved by the numbers flocking into that State from all quarters, since the Board began its work in earnest. \* \* Some of her statisticians have undertaken to show, and they claim to have proved that the increased tax brought yearly into the State Treasury from these immigrants, or from the added value that they give to property, both real and personal, more than doubles the sum annually appropriated to this end. So that not only Missouri is increasing her population and wealth permanently by this means, but she is making the operation pay as it goes. A St. Louis dispatch of yesterday says: 'At a meeting of the State Board to-day a report on immigration to Missouri was read. It shows that it was never greater. The roads of the State, particularly the southwestern part, present the appearance of the tide of immigration to California in 1849-50.'

On December 30th, the *Bee*, in an article on "Taxation and Immigration," after recounting what the bill proposes to do, including the giving of the \$200,000 tide land money in State and to farmers, said: "It was said (at the meeting) in favor of this measure, that by consolidating the State debt the Legislature could do all the bill asked, and relieve the taxpayer 15 cents on the \$100 assessed value, and that such a law would bring us 50,000 people and \$10,000,000 capital a year. Now, for this number of people and this amount of capital we would give much, but the giving is a fact—the gain, speculation! But the adage is true, nevertheless: "Never venture, never win." California is absolutely famishing for want of people. Her hills are idle, her valleys untilled, her streams unused, and everything languishes. She is behind the times in all material progress. Not a State in the East or in the West that has not increased in the last decade, in both wealth and population, more than California. Indeed, it may be said that our population has scarcely in that time increased at all; and as nothing but people can create wealth, our material progress could not be much.

*We think that, under all the circumstances, the people of California would be willing to be so taxed if they could believe that this effort would prove half as beneficial as its sanguine godfather seems to anticipate, and we do not know but they will risk it any way, if they have confidence in the men who are to disburse the funds.*

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### Opinions of the "Record."

The *Sacramento Record*, on October 22d, in an article headed "Immigration—Depletion," speaking of the industrious efforts making in this State to arouse the attention of the people to its importance, says: "It is probable

that the coming Legislature will be called on to take the matter in hand, and establish for California some such plan of bringing the State to the attention of immigrants, as has been so successfully practiced by the new States of the interior of the continent for a number of years. In the opinion of those best acquainted with the subject, this is the most efficient and advisable method of accomplishing the desired object.

On November 15th, under the heading of "Objections Answered," the *Record* said: "The new immigrants \* \* will create property for the State to tax; they will consume the goods of our manufacturers and merchants, and they will increase our exports. Moreover, they will do something toward filling up our empty mountain counties, and give them a chance of lessening their rates of taxation, and ultimately of paying their debts. The United States has grown rapidly wealthy by immigration, and the decades of greatest national progress have been those in which the greatest number of foreigners have landed on our shores. *The Western States that have outrun their competitors in the race for prosperity have been those which have spent their money more freely on immigration, and Illinois stands above every State in the Union in this respect. If the Legislature grants all the Immigrant Union is asking, they will only be moderately follow in the footsteps, and doing in a small way, what Illinois, with wonderfully successful results, has done on a greater scale.*"

On November 13th, the *Record*, under the heading of "What is Doing," said: "It is a very gratifying and encouraging sign that the press of California are so generally and earnestly giving their support to the effort being put forth to induce immigration to the State, and the arrangement of a comprehensive system of operation, which shall be efficient in laying before those seeking new homes the advantages that California presents to them, and bringing them here. The people, also, exhibit the same general favor for the scheme, and are evidently prepared to give it such aid, and all the aid, required to make it thoroughly successful. And this enthusiasm and earnestness seems to be greater in the portions of the State which are the least affected with anything like land monopoly. It is the sturdy, hard-working farmers; the laborious miners, the industrious artisans, the enterprising, active merchants and traders of the interior and outside counties, who are taking the most interest in the subject, and offer it the most active assistance. This augurs well for its success."

On December 8th, the *Daily Record*, in an article headed "How shall they learn unless they are taught?" said: "*There are some journals professedly very anxious for population in California, but very determined that no means shall be taken to invite people here. Their cry is, 'Equalize assessments, reduce taxation, and build railroads, and then population will come.'* Very good! So do we say, 'Equalize assessments, reduce taxation, and build railroads.' These are just the kind of improvements which will induce emigrants to settle in California, but how



will the emigrant know that we have equalized assessments, reduced taxation, and built railroads, after these works are accomplished, unless we send some one to tell them these things?" \* \* \* \*

"People who suppose us to be a wild horde of miners, wearing extraordinary garments, and accustomed to daily encounters with armed ruffians, and generally in the end perishing by the tomahawks of savages, do not know anything about our inequalities in assessing, our rates of taxation and our want of railroads. \* \* If men who have education, who read books of travel, and who subscribe to the *London Times*, are so ignorant about California, what must be the condition of the cottage-farmer in Great Britain and Germany? If we intend that the people of Europe shall understand our country, appreciate our advantages, and learn that here are homes for all, *we must send out men to preach these glad tidings, if not from house to house, at least from village to village, and town to town.*"

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### **The Tone of the Interior Press.**

After such conclusive evidences that all the daily press of San Francisco and Sacramento, the *Union* excepted, was in our favor, it is hardly necessary to quote extensively from the Interior papers. It will be enough to say that in every district of the State, the Trustees have had encouragement and support from the first. Many writers on the other hand, naturally viewed with jealousy anything proceeding from San Francisco, and were opposed to Government aid being extended to a Society at that time partly composed of the class of land-holders they held in special abhorrence. Others supported by subscribers interested in mining, misinterpreted the movement in so far as to believe that we were opposed to the development of their chief local interest. Some changes in the construction of the Board and the abandonment of revenue from the various sources, removed the cause of the opposition, and with one or two exceptions, all the press of the Interior counties came over to our side, and in the expressive language used by one, which had been the bitterest in opposition, declared, that now we had proved ourselves worthy of public confidence they would give us their aid in obtaining from the Legislature what we asked.

As long ago as November 14th, it has been known that the Immigrant Union intended applying to the Legislature for \$100,000 for the general purposes of promoting immigration, and for \$200,000 for special aid on the plan provided for in Clause 16. Not a single daily paper in the cities of San Francisco or Sacramento, the *Union* excepted, opposed that demand until six weeks after (that is when the draft of the bill was placed in their hands), and some of the country papers that had commented adversely on the proposition to obtain State aid, in the mean-

time had turned around, and in the handsomest manner acknowledged their mistake and announced their acquiescence with our views.

There is, therefore, but one conclusion that we can come to, and that is, the fault is in the bill and not in the sum asked, and yet we cannot but call the attention of our readers to the similarity between the mode of working, provided for in the bill, and that suggested by the following letter from a gentleman whose experience and success in this business of European Immigration, gives great value by his opinions.

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### Letter from Col. Loomis.

The following extract from a letter addressed to one of the officers of the Immigrant Union by Col. J. S. Loomis, President of the Kansas organization, is worthy of consideration. It is dated from Astor House, New York, Dec. 16, 1869.

The writer, after earnestly urging land-owners to divide up their land after the manner of the Government surveys, into small tracts, says :

“This point is being accomplished with the roads, we next secure and become the representative agents in Europe and the Eastern States for ocean steamship and railway lines; and by educating the intending immigrant to start from his fireside for our rich and cheap lands as his objective point, we create an entirely new business for these lines, and offer an attractive inducement for them to afford transportation at a considerable percentage less than the regular rates. In addition to cheap land and cheap transportation, we offer and afford in perfect faith with our representative the most acceptable and practical attention to the emigrant and his family on the entire line of transit from his old home to the new. At each depot on the line of the respective roads we have a local agent, who has maps and price lists of our lands, and is thoroughly acquainted with all lands in this district, and is authorized to make sale of the lands. These local agents are also the agents for manufacturers of portable houses, lumber and agricultural implements, all of which supplies we cause to be furnished to the settler at manufacturer's or dealer's original cost, thus saving the emigrant the many retail profits which usually accumulate on those materials and goods between the manufacturer and consumer; and we secure these supplies at reduced rates of transportation from the factories to the respective local agencies. The advantages of this system are briefly as follows : First, cheap transportation ; second, proper attention *en route*; third, cheap lands; fourth, materials and implements for improving the same at prime cost to the settler. Our documents are distributed through our permanent agencies throughout Great Britain and Continental Europe. Our accurate descriptive maps, circulars and emigrant guides

are gratuitously furnished in the language and to the people of all nationalities, and our agents are selected with special reference to their experience and fitness for the duty of reaching the emigrating classes directly, and who are imbued with the sentiments and have the tact and moral courage to protect our people from fraud and unjust exactions until they reach and settle upon the lands. We can now transport emigrants (adults) at from \$25 to \$35 (U. S. currency) less than the emigrant can possibly secure himself or through other agencies. We have the land, ocean and railway transportation interests perfectly combined in one organization in such a way as to conserve the present and future prosperity of all, especially the immigrant. Such organization and the benefits referred to can only be attained by an Association or Corporation properly and intimately allied to the ship, railroad and landed interests.

“THERE ARE TWENTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHO ARE THINKING OF EMIGRATING TO AMERICA AS A POSSIBLE FACT, AND THERE ARE HALF THAT NUMBER WHO WILL COME HERE JUST AS SOON AS ACCEPTABLE MEANS ARE AFFORDED TO TRANSPORT AND TAKE CARE OF THEM DECENTLY EN ROUTE.

“The field for settlement and the number desiring to emigrate is too broad for any State or any organization to compass, and we will gladly afford California or any other Western sister a thorough insight to our plans and experiences.

“Our mission is specially with these ‘iron belts’ which are to encircle the earth, and carry our civilization and republicanism to the people of all nations. The roads we now represent are judiciously managed and financially successful, and we will give them a population through our land and emigration, bureaus of industrious miners, mechanics and agriculturists, which will in our western territories develop the highest civilization of which the Anglo-Saxon race is capable of attaining. We are drawing our emigrating land buyers from the educated and christian communities of Central and Northern Europe, a class which will bring no moral leprosies to engraft upon our social life or pollute our political fabric. If we can help you as agents, or as friendly counsellors, to give California a fair share of this European emigration, we shall be glad to serve or advise you. Permit me to advise you, and through you your Chamber of Commerce, to encourage large landed proprietors to have their vast estates surveyed into small bodies according to the land system of the General Government—viz : into sections, quarter sections, eighty and forty acre tracts—and let them be offered as a rule to that class of actual settlers who have the means to pay for transportation, make payments on land and purchase the materials and implements for settlement and cultivation. The lands withdrawn from sale by the Government for railway purposes are, of course, in this

practical shape for the emigrating masses, but the large ranchos and valleys held for sale by a few, cannot, under your present policy, be made available for the settlement of small farmers, and the colonization system has not been accepted by Europeans to an extent making these large tracts saleable. The large cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar plantations of the South, if surveyed into small tracts, would be a most attractive competitive field for emigration. Southern lands are a drug on the emigrating market for the reason stated, California, if her available agricultural acres were subdivided and offered cheap, would be the most attractive field for actual settlement on the continent. I BELIEVE WE COULD SEND YOU ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE WITHIN TWO YEARS IF YOU WILL UNITE ON A PRACTICAL PLAN."



“Chinaman or White Man, Which?”

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REPLY TO FATHER BUCHARD

BY

REV. O. <sup>the</sup> GIBSON,

Delivered in Platt's Hall, San Francisco,  
Friday Evening Mar. 14, 1873.

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*Published at the request of the*  
*“San Francisco Methodist Preachers' Meeting”.*

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SAN FRANCISCO:  
ALTA PRINTING HOUSE, 529 CALIFORNIA STREET.  
1873.



## EXPLANATORY NOTE.

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On the 18th of February, the Hon. Frank M. Pixley, delivered a lecture in this city for the benefit of the "Church Union," subject, "*Our Street Arabs*. Who are responsible for them?"

Mr. Pixley improved the occasion, to declaim against the immigration of the Chinese to this country, making use of some very violent and incendiary language, well adapted to excite the hatred and prejudice of the people against the Chinese.

On the 25th of February, the Rev. Father Buchard, a Jesuit Priest, addressed a large audience in this city, on "*Chinaman or White man, which?*"

He also declaimed against Chinese immigration, maintaining that the Chinese are an injury to the best interests of our country and people, because they cheapen labor, and because they are an inferior race. He charges that the most of the Chinese who come here are slaves—that they do not pay taxes—that they do not consume our products, but send their money home, thus draining our country of its wealth—that they are the careless authors of destructive fires—that they displace white laborers, driving them to pursue lives of beggary, prostitution and crime.

These two lectures, quite fully reported in our daily papers, with more or less of endorsement and commendation, were agitating the minds of the people. The hatred and prejudice of certain classes of our population against the Chinese were fully aroused, and many good citizens feared mob-violence in our city, as the result.

The "San Francisco Methodist Preachers' Meeting" having the matter under consideration, passed the following *Resolution*:

"That Rev. O. Gibson be requested to prepare an answer to the lecture delivered by Father Buchard on "*Chinaman or White man, which?*" at his earliest convenience, and that Rev. J. W. Ross, and Rev. A. J. Nelson be a committee to engage a hall and make arrangements for Mr. Gibson's lecture."

Mr. Gibson accepted the invitation, and delivered the following "Reply to Father Buchard," on "Chinaman or White man, which?" which was listened to, with intense interest, by a large and intelligent audience, assembled at Platt's Hall in this city, Friday evening, March 14th, 1873.

On the following Monday morning, (March 17th) the "*Preachers' Meeting*" passed the following *Resolution* :

"That the Rev. O. Gibson be requested to furnish a copy of his Reply to Father Buchard, and that Rev. J. W. Ross and A. J. Nelson Esq., be a committee to publish in neat pamphlet form, at least one thousand copies of the lecture."

On the evening of the same day, Mr. Gibson received the following communication :

SAN FRANCISCO, March 17, 1873.

REV. O. GIBSON :

DEAR SIR—The leading Chinese gentlemen of this city, have just learned of your able defense of the treaty rights of the Chinese in this country. They wish me to assure you of their high appreciation of your services, and to convey to you, their grateful thanks for what you, unsolicited by them, have done for our people.

The "Six Chinese Companies" also ask the privilege of paying the expenses of publishing an edition of your "Reply to Father Buchard."

With sentiments of profound respect. In behalf of the Chinese in America.

Yours very truly,

A. YUP,  
HOP KEE & Co.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. W. ROSS,  
A. J. NELSON,

*Committee.*

SAN FRANCISCO, March 20th, 1873.



# LECTURE.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I wish it to be distinctly understood that I do not stand here to defend the civilization nor the religion of China. I do not propose to offer any apology for the vices of the Chinese people, nor to praise the virtues of the white race. Neither do I stand here as an advocate of special measures for the introduction of Chinese people, nor as an advocate of special measures for the introduction of any other people, to these shores. But I come before you to defend the foundation principle and the traditional policy of the Government and people of these United States. A principle enunciated, and a policy adopted in our infancy as a nation; a principle and a policy as dear as life to every true American patriot; a principle and a policy born of Heaven, and destined ever to be crowning glories in the future history of this fair land. It is the God-taught principle that *all men are born free and equal*; it is the policy which opens wide the doors of our great country on the East and on the West, and opens wide also, all the countless avenues of industry and enterprise in our country *equally* to all mankind, without *distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude*.

I stand here, an American-born citizen, to defend this principle and this policy against the incendiary in-

vectives of an unscrupulous politician, and against the plausible but more dangerous fallacies uttered by a Priest of the Church of Rome.

I was quite amused at the cool, practical view of the probable influence of Father Buchard's lecture, as expressed by an intelligent Chinaman of my acquaintance. He said: "I think that Roman Catholic Priest did a pretty good thing for the Chinese, because whatever people may say, they will all employ the labor which is the most profitable to them, and that man's lecture on Chinese cheap labor is a good advertisement for our people."

Such talk will increase Chinese immigration, not check it.

#### CHEAP LABOR.

Father Buchard with glowing eloquence depicts the evils of cheap labor, which he claims includes in its category all forms of serfdom. He tries to make us believe that we are inaugurating a system of serfdom in this country. He deprecates the day, which he would have us believe to be near at hand, when ten or twenty millions of our fellow citizens shall be reduced to serfdom, in order that we may leave behind us great works and monuments like the Pyramids of Egypt or the Coliseum of Rome. Such an idea is so absurd and so contradictory to the genius of our government, and the tendencies of our civilization, that in uttering it the Reverend Father has rendered himself liable to the charge of being ignorant of the genius and spirit of our American civilization. *Our* civilization, without serfdom, without cheap labor even, is building monu-

ments more glorious than the Pyramids of Egypt, more beautiful than the Coliseum of Rome. Our railroads and our telegraph lines are our Pyramids, our *free schools*, with an open Bible, our free press and free speech, our traditional Sabbath, our civil and religious liberties, these are our Coliseum. It is with these, our blood-bought institutions, that a class of foreigners, not Chinese, are at war.

It certainly is a pity that our Roman Catholic friends are so slow to understand and appreciate the genius and spirit of the free institutions of this great Republic.

This subject of labor and its reward is at once an important and delicate question. The great sin charged against our Chinese friends is, that they cheapen labor.

However, according to Father Bucharth himself, it will always be impossible to reduce labor to its lowest rates in this country, so long as our present form of government exists. He tells us, and truly, too, that the lowest rates of labor can only prevail under despotic forms of government. Surely our government is not despotic, and hence labor cannot reach its lowest rates in this country.

#### FREE COMPETITION.

The inevitable tendency of our institutions is to increase the price of labor. Everywhere the freest competition exists.

Every man in this land, be he gentile or Jew, be he Christian or heathen, be he red, or black, or white, or copper colored, is his own master. If capital refuses to reward labor, on every hand doors of enterprise and industry are opened wide, by means of which the labor-

ing classes themselves may become lords of the soil, or by combination of their labor and capital may monopolize to a great extent the manufacturing interests of the communities in which they live. Father Buchard has presented to the public a labored and plausible, but, as I think, an extremely fallacious argument against the free immigration of the Chinese to this country, because of their cheap labor. The same argument may be used by native born Americans against the free immigration of the Germans and Irish. But I am prepared to state, without fear of successful contradiction, that as compared with other portions of our country, no such thing as cheap labor, of any kind, is yet known on these shores; and any statement or argument built upon the false assumption that such labor is known here, must be an incorrect statement, a fallacious argument tending only to pander to the prejudices, and to fire the animosities of the ignorant and vicious. Why were not a few facts and figures given us to show how dangerously cheap this Chinese labor is? Simply, I imagine, because such a showing would have exposed the fallacy of the position. Allow me to eliminate the fallacy, and then see how much of truth or argument remains. It is estimated that of the ten or twelve thousand Chinese in this city, about twenty-five hundred of them are employed as domestic servants. Those who employ them are denounced as craven wretches, worthy of a felon's cell, because they employ this cheap labor. But, ladies and gentlemen, we were not told how much per month is paid for this *criminally cheap labor*. No mention was made of the fact that these twenty-five hundred Chinese boys are paid



as much, on an average, as is paid to any average twenty-five hundred domestic servants in the Eastern States. Chinese boys, twelve to sixteen years of age, fresh from China, unable to speak or to understand our language, and perfectly unacquainted with our methods of labor, are paid \$2 and \$3 per week and found.

Boys from sixteen to twenty years, able to speak a few words, and partially experienced in our methods of labor, command \$3 to \$5 per week and found.

A Chinaman, able to cook and wash for a family, readily commands from \$5 to \$8 per week. In our Eastern cities the same kind and amount of labor can be obtained for less money; the average price being about \$3 to \$6 per week, for first-class servants; while in the country and villages the prices range from \$1 50 to \$3 per week; so that, as compared with other portions of our country, in the matter of domestic servants, we have no cheap labor as yet on this coast, not even Chinese. Whatever curses the Chinese may bring to these shores, *cheap domestic labor* is not yet one of them. I more than suspect that there is a concealed cause for this irritation of the Reverend Father on the question of Chinese domestic service, and for this violent opposition of the Roman Catholic element to the immigration of the Chinese to this country. I more than suspect that if the places now filled by those twenty-five hundred Chinese domestics were filled by communicants of the Roman Catholic Church, that circumstance of itself might place about \$2,500 per month into the Treasury of that Church (mostly of Protestant money) to aid in building up the traditional

institutions of Popery in our midst. But these Chinese domestics are not to any great extent the subjects of his Holiness, the Infallible Pope. Perhaps that is the trouble.

#### EXORBITANT WAGES OF EARLY DAYS.

There can be no doubt but that the Chinese immigration has helped to reduce the price of labor from the excessive rates which existed in the early and flush days of California life, and by so much as the Chinese have done this, they have been a benefit and not a curse. For a reduction in prices of wages was an absolute necessity, a prime condition of our development as a State in all those manifold interests and enterprises that constitute the growing wealth of any land.

At the rates of labor which existed in the early days of California, or at the rates which would instantly prevail were the Chinese removed from our midst, not one of the few manufacturing interests which have lately sprung up on these shores, could be maintained a single day.

Were it not for the competition of Chinese labor, the few woolen mills, rope factories, iron foundries, cabinet factories, shoe factories and such like industries lately commenced, must be closed at once.

Even with the presence and competition of the Chinese, the average price of labor is so high that capital persistently refuses to invest to any considerable extent in manufacturing enterprises. For the want of a cheaper labor, and more of it, we are compelled to export our wool, our silk, our hides and other products, and in turn we import our shoes, our cloth, our silks, our nails and other supplies. The average price of

labor on this coast is still so high that we cannot manufacture and compete with Eastern prices. If it is true that we have such an abundance of cheap labor, how shall we account for the fact that in California, almost every year, fields of wheat are left unharvested and vast quantities of fruit rot on the ground, simply because labor cannot be obtained to harvest the wheat or to gather the fruit at paying rates? Who does not know that there are hundreds, if not thousands of families in this city and country with small incomes, feeble mothers, helpless children, daily suffering for the want of domestic help which, at present prices, they are unable to command? Remove Chinese competition, and domestic servants as a class would at once become more exorbitant in their demands and more insolent in their manners than now; and as the result many families would be compelled to leave the country, or to break up housekeeping altogether,

#### LESS CHINESE DOES NOT SIGNIFY MORE WHITE LABOR.

It is a mistake to suppose that if the Chinese were removed from our midst there would be employment for more white laborers than now. The fact is, and intelligent men know it full well, that the Chinese on this coast, by the multiplication and development of industries, have caused a demand for more white skilled labor than otherwise could have found employment. More white labor than Chinese labor is employed by the business created by the Mission Woollen Mills, but the business could not exist without the employment of Chinese. The introduction of machinery all over our land at first met with the same kind of opposition because

it cheapened the price of most products and displaced laborers; but we now know that machinery multiplies industries, creates a demand for more laborers, and thus enriches the country. The immigration of Irish peasants into our Eastern States, to dig our canals and build our railroads, cheapened, for a time, the price of labor, but it also developed and enriched the country; and while it improved the condition of the Irishmen, it also raised the native American population to higher planes of industry and more extensive fields of enterprise. I, myself, once a farm-hand at twelve dollars per month, was displaced by an Irishman who did the same work for eight dollars per month; but I went from the farm to the college, and have never since undertaken to compete with foreigners on that level. So this Chinese immigration, by reducing the price of unskilled labor to a point where capital can afford to employ it, will tend to multiply our industries and enrich the State, and in this way they will certainly open doors for the employment of thousands of white laborers, who otherwise could not find employment on these shores; so that the Chinese, instead of displacing or lessening the demand for white laborers, really stimulate the demand and create a market for more.

#### ABSURDITY.

In face of the facts and principles of political economy, to which I have called your attention, how absurd seems the statement that the Chinese immigration has displaced thousands of domestic servants and other white laborers, and driven them forth to become beggars, thieves and prostitutes! The absurdity becomes ridic-



ulous when we are told, with pious cant, that these displaced ones were all good, honest souls, that would have been respectable, would have been an honor to the circle in which they moved, would have been a credit to us as Americans, were it not for the employment and cheap labor of these immoral, vicious, pagan Chinese. Such an absurd and ridiculous statement Father Buchard has thrown into the face of this intelligent community—a community daily distressed beyond expression by the unfaithfulness, the dishonesty and impudence of that very class he has seen fit thus to eulogize. We may leave the question of their faithfulness and honesty to be settled by the thousands among us who are the hapless, helpless victims of kitchen tyranny and impudence. The inefficiency and vulgar impudence of domestic servants in America is proverbial; especially is this true in the case of those who are of the Roman Catholic religion, serving in Protestant families.

#### ARE THEY SLAVES ?

We have been told that “the most of the Chinese who come here are slaves.” Now, such statements are very common in certain circles, and may be expected from the ignorant and prejudiced, but what excuse can an intelligent man render for such a perversion of simple, well-known facts ? The fact is, and intelligent men know it, that so far as the male population of China is concerned, no such thing as slavery, in our acceptation of the term, exists. The Chinese people always regarded with horror the American system of African slavery.

Chinese women are brought here as slaves, and for vilest purposes, and are daily bought and sold in this city, like the brutes that perish. I join with all good citizens in denouncing that abominable traffic, and in wiping out, by legitimate means, this festering sore; but in our just indignation against the Chinese enslaved prostitution, let us not forget the moral pestilence which surrounds them, flaunting its victories and exposing its victims unrebuked on Dupont and Sacramento streets and Waverly Place. While pulling the mote from our neighbor's eye, let us extract the beams from our own eyes.

The Chinamen who come here, in every case come voluntarily. It is true that many of them are assisted financially to get here, and to find employment after they get here, and for such assistance they gladly agree to pay a certain per cent. of their actual wages until the stipulated sum is paid and the contract canceled. Our immigrant societies, importing immigrants from Europe, act upon precisely the same plan. Every intelligence office in this city acts upon precisely the same principle, and transacts business of a similar nature every time a person is employed through their agency. This voluntary contract to refund, with interest, moneys which have been advanced on their account, cannot, in any honest way, be called slavery, nor can it be fairly compared to slavery. If these are called slaves, then every person who secures a situation through the agency of an intelligence office is a slave, or may be compared to a slave. It is rather a favorable comment upon the faithfulness of the Chinese in keeping

contracts, that moneyed men of their own nation are found willing to advance money on such risks.

An effort to make people believe that the Chinese are mostly slaves, and to kindle a political excitement upon such a false assumption may be expected from a political demagogue, but from a minister of religion we have a right to expect better things.

Let me uncover another fallacy here. First—We have the statement that the Chinamen who come here are mostly slaves. This statement is not true of the men in a single instance, but upon this false statement, as a premises, this argument is built. First—Slavery of every kind has been declared unconstitutional.

Second—These Chinamen are slaves.

Third—Therefore those who employ these Chinamen are violating the very spirit and letter of the Constitution, and are deserving the censure and condemnation of their fellow men, and cannot be considered true American citizens. But, ladies and gentlemen, if these Chinamen are voluntary immigrants, and if every man of them be his own master, which is certainly the case, what then? In that case who is it that violates the very letter and spirit of the Constitution, and is unworthy to be called a true American citizen? Is it the man who employs such voluntary labor as he can command, at prices which he can afford? Or is it the man who attempts to dictate to us, free born American citizens, as to what persons we shall employ, and as to what wages we shall give?

This charge of violating the constitution and deserving the censure of our fellow men, made against us American citizens because we choose to employ

Heathen Chinese instead of European papists, comes with an exceedingly bad grace from a Jesuit priest of the Church of Rome, himself a representative of a class and a sect historically known to be opposed to free, civil and religious institutions in all lands, known to be openly, bitterly and persistently opposed to the system of public schools, the open bible, the free press and free speech, glorious characteristics of this free, Protestant Christian America.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Louis says that "if the Catholics ever gain—which they surely will—an immense numerical majority in this country, religious freedom will be at an end."

It is high time that the public sentiment was roused and warned against a system of audacious assumptions and plausible fallacies, that are blinding the eyes and blunting the sensibilities of our people.

Little by little, by fair means and by foul means, the memory of our own immortal Washington, and the principles which his name represents, are pushed aside, and the name of St. Patrick, and the institutions which that name suggests, are brought to the front. Compare the annual celebration in this city of Washington's and St. Patrick's birthdays, and you will understand the force of what I say. St. Patrick is all very well, but for Americans I think Washington should be first, St. Patrick afterwards.

#### AN INFERIOR RACE.

Father Buchard has presented a lengthy argument to prove that the Chinese are an inferior race. On this point the Reverend Father and his worthy col-



league, the Hon. Frank M. Pixley, do not agree. When doctors of the same school disagree who shall decide the case for them?

We all know full well that the civilization of the Chinese is far inferior to our Christian civilization, but that does not prove in the least the inferiority of the race.

The civilization of China reached the highest point of development, of which its institutions and systems are capable, hundreds of years since. At that time the Chinese civilization was in advance of the civilization of our ancestors. Had Father Bucharcl lived in those days, he could have proved *the Chinese were the superior race.*

The false systems of ethics and religion prevailing in China have placed barriers in the way of progress and true development. Remove these barriers, take away these stumbling blocks, lift the veil of ignorance from the Chinese mind and place it under equal and similar conditions, and you who live in this city need not be told that it will compare favorably with the mind of any other family of the one human race. I say one human race, for, receiving the Bible as authority, I believe that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

The inferior civilization of any people, at any certain point of the world's history, is no gauge of the possibilities of that people in progressive development, under favorable circumstances.

The Chinese an inferior race! Confucius, five hundred years before Christ, enunciated the Golden Rule in a negative form, and he was a Chinaman. A few decades since, To Kwong, the Emperor, when pressed

by the Ambassadors from Christian lands to legalize the traffic in opium, exclaimed, with vehemence, "I know that my purposes will be frustrated. I know that wicked and designing men, for purpose of lust and profit, will clandestinely introduce the poisonous drug, but nothing under heaven shall ever induce me to legalize the certain ruin of my people." Does that sound like an inferior race? An inferior race!

Yung Wing, who took one of the graduating prizes at Yale College a few years ago, belonged to this inferior race. An inferior race! Then why this fear of their competition? Brain is always in the ascendancy; knowledge is power, and fears no competition of mere brute force. If the Chinese are truly the inferior race which they are said to be, then coming to this country, they must ever remain the mudsills of society, performing for us our unskilled labor, and thus lifting the superior white race, even including Father Buchar'd's dear brethren, to higher planes of industry and more exalted walks in society.

But we are told that the Chinese are an inferior race, because they cannot resist foreign invasion. On that principle, what shall we say of the French? What of the Irish? Have those countries never been successfully invaded? Why did not the Reverend Father tell us that these inferior Chinese have eliminated a system of government which for thousands of years has held in peaceful control nearly one-third of the human race?

China stands before the world to-day acknowledged as having the largest population, and a government of the longest existence known in history.

But Father Buchard grows bolder still as he advances, and finally caps the climax of a long catalogue of absurd fallacies, false assumptions, and abusive epithets by uttering a sentiment, which should cause all believers in Christ to blush, to blush for very shame, that a man proclaiming such sentiments as he has proclaimed, should still be recognized as a minister of our Holy Religion. Himself ordained a priest of that altar upon which Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man, in one short sentence publicly uttered and broadly published, has dared to exclude one-third of the human race from all of the benefits of the scheme of human redemption through Jesus Christ, our Lord. His language, as quoted in the *Monitor*, an Irish Roman Catholic journal of this city, is this: "These pagan, these vicious, these immoral creatures, that are incapable of rising to the virtue that is inculcated by the religion of Jesus Christ, the World's Redeemer."

Does this blasphemous utterance voice the sentiments of the Church of Rome? If so, why not translate it into the Chinese language and circulate it broadcast all over China, to aid the Jesuits there in their work, and to encourage those 2,000,000 Chinese communicants of the the Romish Church which he claims in China? [There does seem to be a little inconsistency in claiming 2,000,000 communicants from a race incapable of becoming Christians.]

If the race be what Father Buchard states it to be, why any efforts at all to evangelize it? What about Father Peter, and Father Theodore, and Father Sian, Roman Catholic priests of the Chinese race, who, at

different times, have ministered in this city, baptizing the children and shriving the adults of the superior white race? Do not those priests belong to this "pagan, vicious, immoral race, incapable of rising to the virtue inculcated by the religion of Jesus Christ, the world's Redeemer?" And if it is such a sin for an American family to employ a Chinaman in the kitchen, what shall we say of the Romish Church which ordains a pagan, vicious, immoral Chinaman to be a priest at the altars of the God of Heaven? The fact that so large a portion of the inmates of our prisons, jails, industrial schools and reformatory institutions are communicants of the Romish Church, more than justifies the suspicion that multitudes of the communicants of that Church, other than Chinese, if not "incapable," do, nevertheless, fail to rise to the practice of Christian virtues.

Is it possible that such language was used in order to pander to popular tastes and inflame popular prejudices? Should there be a raid on the Chinese of this city, and the mob scenes of the Los Angeles riot be re-enacted in our streets, how far ought such teachers as the Rev. Father Buchard and the Hon. Frank M. Pixley, be held responsible at the bar of an intelligent public opinion, for the results? Are not the cool, crafty instigators of a riot as guilty as the mad participants in its bloody scenes?

Father Buchard, in flowing sentences, by use of plausible fallacies, arouses the jealousy, and excites the hatred and prejudice of the ignorant masses. He proclaims to them that the Chinese, an immoral, pagan race, are depriving them of employment, reducing their



wives to beggary, their sons to hoodlums, and their daughters to prostitutes. He tells them that these Chinese are an inferior race, not capable of becoming Christians (and the plain inference is, that to murder a Chinaman would not be a greater sin than to kill a monkey). He proclaims that those who employ these Chinamen are "violating the spirit and letter of our Constitution, and are deserving of the censure and condemnation of their fellow-men." Then Mr. Pixley completes the lesson. Under certain circumstances he calls upon Governor Booth, Mayor Alvord, and numerous citizens, to hang the Captains and agents of the China trade, and burn their vessels at the wharf. Of course, Mr. Pixley knew that if the leading citizens should fail to do this, there is a large element in the city that would like the job. If, after all this, we do not have mob violence against the Chinese, it will be because the hoodlum element of our city has not full confidence in these two leaders.

I have been told by pretty good authority that a few years ago this same political aspirant, Frank M. Pixley, before the Board of Supervisors of this city, defended the right of those enslaved Chinese prostitutes to reside within the city limits, stoutly maintaining that the circumstances and necessities of the case called for the regulation rather than the suppression of the evil.

At that time the authorities of the city, determined to put a stop to this traffic, refused the Company permission to land a cargo of these women just arrived from China. But Frank M. Pixley, equal to the emergency, procured a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which he brought them all ashore, and here they still are. Put

*that* and *this* together and you have what I suppose to be a fair representation of the Hon. Frank M. Pixley. Perhaps we shall send him to Congress. Perhaps—not.

#### DO NOT PAY TAXES.

It is charged that the Chinese do not pay taxes; that they come here only to make money. That the 10,000 Chinese in this city do not all together pay so much in taxes as does the one man Michael Reese.

Unfortunately for the strength of this argument against the Chinese, there are more than 50,000 white people in this city who pay no taxes at all, and 10,000 others who do not pay altogether \$9,000. The Chinamen have not invested largely in real estate, for the reasons: First—The most of them are poor. Second—Our invidious legislation against them has not encouraged them to seek for permanent settlement among us. Father Buchard has told us that the 11,000 Chinese of our city pay only \$9,000 into our public treasury. Let us see: This \$9,000 is taxes on real estate and personal property. But every Chinaman pays his \$2 poll tax—many of them two and three times the same year. This will add about \$10,000 to Father Buchard's \$9,000, making \$19,000. To this add \$25,000 for licenses, and instead of \$9,000 we have the round sum of \$44,000 annual revenue to our City Treasury from the Chinese among us. Besides this, the Chinese of this city alone pay internal revenue license \$5,000 per year, and stamp tax on cigars made during the last year the enormous sum of \$360,000, or over \$1,000 per working day. The grand to-

tal of public revenue from the Chinese of this city alone, during the past year reaching the magnificent sum of \$409,000—just \$400,000 more than Father Buchard gave them credit for. (If his statistics of Chinese Christians are not more correct than these figures, certainly we can not place much confidence in them.) A part of this money is paid for the Public School Fund, but no schools are provided for the Chinese. Again, for the last twenty years a tax of \$5 has been collected from every Chinaman landing in this country—a part of the time, indeed, the tax was \$50 a man. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been collected from Chinamen under the provisions of the Foreign Miners' Tax law, \$4 per month for every miner, which tax was seldom collected of any others than Chinese. There is this also to be said: Collector Austin himself informed me that there is less difficulty in collecting taxes from the Chinese than from any other class of inhabitants, and less delinquencies among them.

But this matter of revenue multiplies as we look at it.

#### THE IMPOSTS THEY PAY.

The imposts or duties on rice alone, brought by the China trade, and mostly consumed by Chinamen, amount to over \$1,000,000 gold coin annually; duty on oil and opium, \$270,000 more; and the duties on other imports swell the figures to over \$2,000,000 customs, collected annually in this port on the trade from China, and mostly from Chinamen. Add all this revenue together and we have \$2,409,000, including taxes, licenses and customs—no insignificant sum. The Chi-

nese also patronize our insurance companies, paying to the several companies doing business in this city over \$50,000 annually for insurance.

#### DO NOT CONSUME OUR PRODUCTS.

It is charged that the Chinese do not consume our products, and that they send their money home and thus impoverish the country. It is about time that the fallacy was taken out of this kind of talk. Many Chinamen wear garments made of our cloth; they wear our boots and our hats; they are fond of watches and jewelry and sewing machines; they ride in our cars and steamers. They eat our fish and beef and potatoes, and exhaust our pork market. Take the one item of pork alone, and the Chinamen of this coast pay to our producers on this coast over half a million dollars annually. If we would itemize the various products which they consume, we shall find that they do not send home over ten per cent. of their earnings. Now, allowing each man to earn \$100 per year, this will give \$750,000 of earnings sent home to China, as against \$6,000,000 of their earnings spent in this country, and \$2,409,000 paid to our revenues in taxes and customs. Again, they cannot carry home the result of their labors—they built the Central Pacific Railroad. They can not send that home, that remains to us. So of the results of all industries in which they are employed. Again, those living here, by their letters home, and by their presence on returning, are so many advertisements of the products and manufactures of our country, gradually creating a demand and opening a splendid market for our surplus



products. Our exports to China are constantly increasing; formerly vessels went to China in ballast, now they go loaded with our products. Again, all the carrying trade between this and China, both of the immigrants and merchandise, is in the hands of our own people. This alone furnishes profitable employment for a vast amount of American capital and labor. Fifty-two ships and steamers arrived in this port from China during the past year, and the trade is constantly increasing.

#### THE MONEY DRAUGHT,

Finally, these croakers all about the Chinese sending their money home ought to know that the fortunes amassed by American merchants in China and brought to this country, amount every year in the aggregate to five times more than all these Chinamen can send to China, as the fruits of their daily toil.

#### AUTHORS OF FIRES.

The Chinese are charged as being the careless authors of the fires which consume our property—how strange it is that the fires do not rage in the Chinese quarter. Who is supposed to have burned the Methodist Church in San Jose, because Chinamen were taught in the Sunday School? Who is supposed to have burned Col. Nagle's property of the same place, because he employed Chinamen? To whom shall we charge the fires in Chicago and Boston? Was Mrs. O'Leary, who milked the cow, that kicked the lamp, that kindled the fire that burned Chicago, was Mrs. O'Leary a Chinaman? Our fires are not so disastrous as those in the East; perhaps our immigrants are not so dangerous as theirs. Of the two evils we may safely choose the least.

## PROTESTANT MISSIONARY LABORS.

Father Buchard also saw fit to disparage the results of Protestant missionary work in China, and to sneer at the efforts made by our Protestant citizens to educate, elevate and Christianize the Chinese who are among us. He sneers at our Chinese Schools and Bible teachings. (By the way, this Bible teaching has always been considered a sin by the Romish Priests.) He says these efforts have been going on for years, and yet he asks, "Have the papers of our city heralded the baptism of a single Chinaman, as the result of all this labor? Have the papers of this city, any one of them, religious or secular, yet heralded the reformation of a single one of these unfortunate women, who are brought to this country for criminal purposes?" Now the facts are, and if Father Buchard reads the papers, he ought to know the facts, that as the result of Protestant efforts in this direction, in this country, about one hundred Chinamen have been baptized and received into the various churches, and a thousand others have been greatly improved both in mind and manners. Six of these unfortunate women are now in the Asylum of the Mission House, cared for and taught by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. One has been married from the Asylum, and that, too, to a white man—of course, not an American citizen. Another woman, Jin Ho, has gone forth from the Asylum to do service and earn her own livelihood in a Christian family.

All these women are now clothed and in their right mind, happy in their escape from lives of slavery and shame. The woman, Jin Ho, was snatched from the

cold waters of the bay, into which she had thrown herself, in order to escape from the miseries of this life.

This is the Protestant, the American way of solving the Chinese question.

Another way, popular just now, but contrary to American principles, and contrary to the true spirit of Christianity, is to arouse the jealousies and excite the hatred of our people against a class of peaceable and industrious strangers, who are here by right of international law, and national treaties.

All these results of Protestant effort among the Chinese of this country have been published from time to time in the newspapers of the city, both secular and religious.

If Father Buchard does not read the papers, he should not speak so positively of what they do or do not publish. If he does read them, he ought to tell the truth when reporting from them.

As to the results of Protestant effort in China itself, there are now about 10,000 actual communicants of Protestant Churches, maintaining consistent Christian characters, and perhaps five times that number of well disposed hearers. A number of self-sustaining churches already exist, and these are constantly increasing.

The Bible, and religious books and tracts, and historical and scientific works, have been faithfully translated, and millions of copies placed in circulation.

At last the people and Government of China are beginning to learn the difference between Christian evangelization and Jesuitical intrigue, and as the result, a brighter day is dawning upon China.

## DANGER TO REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS.

Father Buchard closed his lecture with an eloquent peroration on the grandeur of our country and the glory of our institutions. He contrasted, in glowing colors, the inestimable blessings to be derived from filling our land with immigrants from Europe, with the impending ruin attendant upon the migration of the Chinese to these shores.

But fellow citizens, there is another vital question connected with this subject of immigration to which we must not close our eyes — which is the more dangerous to Republican institutions, Popery or Paganism? This is one of the grave questions involved in this subject. I may be mistaken, but I believe that I voice the candid conviction of a majority of the intelligence and character of these United States when I answer, Popery is more dangerous to Republican institutions than Paganism.

Whence comes this bitter, this ceaseless hostility to our free schools, our free press, our open Bible? Always from Popery; never from Paganism.

## OUR TRUE CHINESE POLICY.

A broad, statesmanlike view, which takes in its scope the fundamental principles and the traditional policy of the Government and people of these United States—that is, open doors and equal rights for all—a view that has regard to national treaties of commerce and amity — a view that understands the value of the commerce of Asia to us as a nation. Such a view will teach the utter impracticability and perfect inconsistency



of any attempt on our part to prevent the immigration of the Chinese to these shores.

Remember that we are the aggressors; we battered down China's walls of exclusion; we opened her interdicted ports that we might share her commerce. God permitted us to do this, and the same God, who is no respecter of persons, permits the Chinese to come here; and shall we war with God? We might as well attempt to stay the tides of the ocean as to attempt to prevent this Chinese immigration. With all its evils, and they are many, there is no resource for us but to make the best of it we possibly can. We need not fear them on the cheap labor question. Under our present form of government, oppressively cheap labor is an impossibility.

What we have to fear is the vice and ignorance which they bring. Wise legislation, wisely executed, will do much in this direction. As a sanitary measure, the Chinese should be compelled to keep their houses and streets cleaner, and they should not be allowed to pack so many persons into such small space as is now their custom.

This abominable traffic in the flesh and blood of these unfortunate woman should be dealt with rigorously and at once — their dens of prostitution closed without any delay.

A compulsory school law should place all of their children, girls and boys, into good schools. All invidious legislation should be repealed, and Christian men and women must multiply their efforts to uplift and Christianize these people.

To the question "Chinaman or White man, which?" I understand Father Buchard to answer, the white man alone.

Hon. Frank M. Pixley answers, neither white nor Chinaman. America belongs to the Indian—the red man.

But according to the genius and spirit of our government and our national history, I stand here to answer thus: *The doors of our country are open equally for both. We have room for all. Ours is "the land of the brave, and the home of the free." The oppressed and down-trodden from all nations may alike find shelter here, and under the benign influences of our free institutions, and of our exalted faith, with the blessing of Almighty God, these different nationalities and varying civilizations shall, in time, blend into one harmonious whole, illustrating to a wondering world "the common Fatherhood of God, and the universal brotherhood of man."*

REMARKS ON

# CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

GOVERNMENTS PROSPER IN PROPORTION WITH THE DEGREES OF PROTECTION AFFORDED HER LABORERS. PROTECTION TO THEM IS ADVANCEMENT; NEGLECT OF THEIR INTERESTS IS THE FORERUNNER OF POLITICAL RUIN AND SOCIAL DEBASEMENT.

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By JOSEPH M. KINLEY,

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FOR FREE CIRCULATION.

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## REMARKS ON CHINESE LABOR.

Prominent among the evils we are called upon to contend with in our political and social advancement is the one thrust upon us by the present influx of Chinese labor.

This is no ordinary evil, when we consider the powerless condition of our State to dispose of the question, the inattention of the Federal Government, the social, moral, and political degradation it promises to visit upon us.

The subject considered in any attitude chosen compels nearly all to admit its dangerous tendencies. These are increased by the position our State occupies to the remainder of our country, and the hitherto prices of labor which have regulated the ordinary modes of life of the laborer, and the means of advancing his family interests he has been enabled to adopt by these prices.

Looking at the systems adopted by these people for their protection, the organization of companies, and the power exercised by *them* over the employed of their race, we are at once impressed with the idea that the condition is one *quasi slave* in its character. Add to this the antipathies now and destined to continue between this race and our own arising from the social, moral, and political education, and habits, and we have no ordinary enemy to deal with.

It is easy enough for those not affected by this labor to say *labor, price, and opportunity* will regulate themselves, but this is a delusive fancy unsupported by reason in the present case, however well grounded the opinion may be in ordinary cases.



It must be remembered, labor and capital, commerce and trade, production and consumption, are only self-regulating, when each is subjected to similar rules, and actuated by common impulses. In the present case no such rule attaches. The laborer on the one hand, aspiring to conditions of ease, refinement, and education, with at least hopes of plenty for himself and family, with pleasant homes and fireside comforts, cultivated in all the refinements of civilized life, with advantages of the church, the school, libraries, and public places of learning, is compelled to compete in his industry with a class in all respects unfit for entertainment at our firesides, and illy calculated to become companions, to any degree, of our people, having tastes wholly averse to their mode of life, and aspiring to habits and indulgences entirely opposite.

This is the present condition, and to assume good may arise from it is simply an unfounded assumption, hence let us look the consequent evils fairly in the face, and remedy them in the fairest means at our command.

To this subject therefore most careful attention is demanded lest in moments of haste, misconception of duty to our own people is had or an injury to those we address upon this subject is done.

If once this element of labor is permitted to gain sufficient ascendancy to control our labor market, we have not only political ruin, but social and moral degradation awaiting us. Nor will it take a people long to arrive at this state after the causes inducing it have been fairly established and engrafted on their institutions.

We have long maintained that a spirit of freedom for the citizen is present in our social and political relations which places the citizen uppermost, and makes the State contribute to his personal freedom, out of which results that popular idea of individual preference before the State; from this we have the

claims of the individual for all that nature has prepared him to enjoy, and government becomes only an instrument of use for this end, therefore careful protection is demanded.

One of the earlier and most powerful aids to this principle is found in the constitutional provisions forbidding titles amongst American societies, by which all are compelled to stand on a basis of social equality before the law, with equal opportunity for acquiring individual liberty and personal social and political freedom, a freedom that makes all alike, irrespective of vocation, entitled to the full benefit of society and its just and incident privileges. From this follows a protection against social ostracism, by reason of any particular field of labor. *Less, no one will consent to ; more, none asks.* Each in society thus becomes alike entitled to respect, protection, and social regard in keeping with his personal worth measured by his moral and intellectual culture only.

Admitting these principles correct, no prolonged discussion is necessary to convince the mind that a high estimate should be placed upon the class depended on for labor, and the claimants for its legitimate rewards. To do less is calculated to endanger the rights and liberties of the subject himself.

Long have statesmen dwelt upon the evil tendencies of slave labor ; consequences as evil may be produced by withholding from our citizens the rightful stimulants of industry and industrial pursuits. The latter may and will entail evils as certain as the former ; the law governing in the one case applies with equal directness in the other. In either instance this law will control, as its power depends not on human, but natural agencies for its governing force.

The respect rightfully belonging to this class of society, if given, insures for the State and personal freedom of its citizens,

a safety nothing else can; but let this source of strength be once neglected, the power weakens, declines and finally dies. Its death is ruin, not alone to social order, but to the State itself, and undoes much governments have done within the last century for the ultimate freedom of mankind.

There are persons who will urge there is no danger from these causes, and our people are not threatened with such consequence. To all such let it be said with candor, the blood that fires the hearts of Americans will never permit these evils to be continued and visited on the toiling masses for a long period, without a struggle for relief, a response to their cry; and under our present political relations, and with discords already existing, this struggle will insure either national ruin, or check the growth of our liberty so well planted and intended to be nourished by our people with so much zeal and care. In such an event, our generation loses all hope of permanent peace and prosperity.

It may be urged that in the present case we have committed ourselves to a treaty that in the broadest sense not only invites but promises protection to the invited millions of China who may come to our shores for *pleasure, for lessons on moral and government, for curiosity, gain or permanent abode*, admitting them on an equality with the *most favored nations of the earth*.

True, in doing this we extend to them the same rights and give the same invitation others have received, and it may be urged, why should they be excepted?

To this let us answer: China is densely populated with an element dangerous for this country to contend with in our territory, inasmuch as her people are accustomed to habits of frugal and abstemious living our people cannot know, after having been long used to luxuries other laboring classes well may envy, and a social, moral and political life absolutely antagonistic to their own.

In vain may it be urged our laborers live too well, clothe too well, educate their families too much, and make too much money. If these opportunities are removed wherein are the advantages of this country over Europe? Is not the air of Europe as free the dew as sweet, the sun as warm and hours of toil as few?

Shame to the idea, and let no one entertain it seriously for a moment. Labor by which competence and even independence may be acquired is far more conducive to morals and social refinement than when it is denied reward sufficient to permit that end. This, few will deny. True, this treaty may be deprecated, but in doing what has been done on this subject, our country has carried into effect the same spirit she has been actuated by in making treaties with other countries. Since our political power has been established, Congress has entered into nearly two hundred different treaties and compacts with the several foreign powers concerning commerce, navigation, trade and national rights, in which unmistakable evidence of friendship for all powers and a desire to live peacefully with them, is too plainly indicated to admit of any mistake. In doing this she has only carried into honest effect, and sought to fairly apply the great principle of personal freedom, well recognized and admitted, to the common claim for liberties that nature has given all peoples, without regard to race, color or circumstance. We have disputed the soundness of one of the oldest doctrines of national right, the one by which the citizen's allegiance is always paramount to his individual will, and submits him to the wishes of his own nation.

Whether we err in this or not is unnecessary to discuss. There is in our attitude on the subject a recognition of individual freedom and personal right otherwise absent. Nor do we admit we err in maintaining this freedom of the man. When governments cease to advance the interests of the gov-

erned they fail to advance the general good of mankind. When they fail in this we need not mourn at their downfall ; and Americans will hail the day this downfall may take place, when this end ceases to be furthered.

But admitting all this true does not imply a right on the part of our country to permit an injury to the common welfare of the citizens of one state, however this injury may have been brought about. If, through too great a licence to any people, danger threatens us, then the power permitting it should promptly come forward and avert the threatened injury.

It may be urged in the present case this evil affects only a small part of our Union, and special legislation ought not to be entertained when it may result in injury to other portions by denying the presence of this population.

To this we reply : Our State yields to the Federal Government certain of her sovereign powers, for not only the good of the General Government, but her own and has entrusted a part of her independence and welfare to the care of the Federal power. By this, she has in the present case been rendered powerless and, if by error, the Federal Government has visited on her citizens a curse or a condition, that evil may grow out of, and refuses or hesitates to relieve her lest she may injure a sister State, then let us with one accord say forgetful indeed is the government, and great is her want of consideration for her members.

Congress has reserved to herself this sole power of treaty, but who would doubt the abuse and condemn an exercise of it, should a treaty be made that visits inevitable and unavoidable hardship upon a state only.

None will condemn an abrogation of a treaty that so results, however general it may have been intended or innocently made. In vain may national power, credit, and good faith



with foreign countries be urged against the abrogation in such a case.

The duty of the General Government is to protect the members of the nation at large, and citizens of each state; the same principle that actuates self-preservation justifies this abrogation. Whether indemnity should be made or not must depend on circumstances and results; but that the duty of our government is to come forward and give aid at this juncture, is undoubtedly true, and a right one State can certainly insist on, without asking too much.

A familiar argument has been made repeatedly, with reference to the African enfranchisement act, that no danger exists of the enfranchised surpassing the ordinary citizen, hence no political or social evil will result; so may it be said of Chinese labor, no evil will result from the competition. There are fanatical gentlemen who are glad to advance some idea unusually liberal, as though in their zeal lay their greatness, and this argument needs no other comment. In the liberality of the ballot in this instance we have accomplished little save to subserve the interests of a party; and it may well be doubted if a graver error could have been committed by us than was in this universal act of enfranchisement. It may be so with an attempt to encourage "*improved civil government reform*" with these people, and exalt their social condition by admitting them to our shores, since in doing this we contend with a people artful in all that encourages advantages over the people they may come in contact with. And let us undeceive ourselves if we think, when an opportunity comes for them to pour in upon us in numbers that must absorb our race, they will not do it. As certain as we are a people this will sooner or later be the result, unless we check the tide and turn back this movement that certainly threatens political and individual ruin. These people are long versed in political

economy, in affairs of State, philosophy and learning, peculiar to themselves, and unlike our own, 'tis true, but nevertheless one that has well disciplined the mind, made them industrious and inured them to hardship, and will make them ready for conflict, when opportunity and sufficient inducement offers, and with millions here to aid those coming, acting in accord with a common purpose, what is there to prevent the evil of them overrunning our people?

It may be answered they have not fleets and navies; let us answer they have capital opportunity and ingenuity to construct, man, and use them. We are educating them rapidly in all these arts, and showing them the advantages gained thereby. Shall we conclude they are too stupid to receive and comprehend the lesson? Certainly no such conclusion is justified.

Consider these, and the depth of their social depravity, the absence of respect for family relation, prices placed on virtue and human life, and great indeed becomes the evil attending this immigration.

Upon the basis of our labor system the laborer is not only encouraged, but is by his vocation, made respected by all. Forgetful must be any who withholds his esteem of the fellow man, because he labors; on the contrary industry is one of the surest certificates of honesty known to us and asked for. But if we permit a class of laborers admitted to have no social standing to compete with our workmen, we tend to discourage the ordinary industrial pursuits, and drive them to other fields and vocations. In doing this, the young are trained up, abhorring labor itself. The natural result of this is what we now labor under; all classes of trade, manufacturing, and professional callings, and skilled methods of livelihood being overdone, while the avenues of industry are neglected, for the promise other modes of life are thought to hold out and not found in ordinary labor.

The one reason, no doubt, of this is the love for wealth so

common in Society in this and other countries, and the supposed easy road to all classes of skilled and professional positions, where, in common with others of the class, rewards are competed for. But one great, if not the greatest cause of this is the popular idea that professions and skilled labor reap readier and surer rewards, that lead to fortune; ordinary labor and severe service are therefore held at lower rates of esteem than their merit demands. Really what is required is more laborers and fewer competitors for emoluments in professions and skilled labor.

Few can doubt that there is a growing discredit for labor and hard toil that encourages idleness, and thereby drags into crime and sin thousands of the young, who would never know the wages of sin were the community more wedded to labor, and laborer<sup>s</sup> in common better protected, encouraged, and united. In vain may we talk of these subjects to the father, mother, guardian, and laborer himself, if the state does not adopt a course that inspires a self-respect in those of whom we speak.

To do this it is most essential that the laborer does not have to compete with a class of workers by education, moral training, and through social habits either beneath him or so different in tastes they are believed to be beneath him, thereby obnoxious to and unfit for associates with those of our own society. The custom of the one or the other must either prevail or somewhat blend to avoid too great a variance between the two; in the present case that they will blend no one can believe. The result is antipathy and hatred, out of which issues at least an essential condition for vice in the minds of the young, if not vice itself. We may well shudder at the future that awaits them if a remedy is not meted out at our hands. These are as they appear for the laborers and those depending on labor for a livelihood.

The question, as it presents itself under constitutional rights, is more threatening. These people may and are liable to be enfranchised by a party for party purposes as the negro of the South was. There is little doubt that a party will arise in our country that will enfranchise this race of people, if thereby party power can be assured. They are not seeking for it themselves, perhaps, nor is there anything to gain by extending it at present to them ; but when they are distributed generally over our several States, and their numbers sufficiently increased to threaten them with continued difficulties, if not enfranchised, there is little doubt but this is how it will end for their protection.

This done, and all that is dear to us is lost. Our country then may go into hands with no chord of sympathy for our race, and those institutions purchased with blood are lost, and the race foremost of those of the earth driven from social and political power by these means. This is no fanciful picture, but a fact that must be realized from the logical consequences of the evil upon us.

The commerce opened up by this treaty is not necessarily destroyed by a removal of this license to immigrate ; but assume it should be, it would be a benefit rather than a loss. We can produce our sugar, our rice, and our silk, as readily here, and ought in justice to our laborers, to do it instead of importing from other countries. Lands capable of growing these articles are now unoccupied or illy tilled ; partly because there is not sufficient inducement, but mainly because our government has not encouraged these industries with a proper spirit. Commercial profit from association and interchange of commodities benefits the governments respectively in a moral and social sense, about as much as social interchange does the individual. The State gains nothing politically nor socially from this people, the oppo-

siteness of every institution and custom, political and social, is too great; we must not expect it; as is said before, they cannot blend, nor can they harmonize their social and religious ideas with our own; but they are in attitudes of hostility and must either stand without a common sympathy or one absorb the other. This no one will think of, nor should we take risks of degrading our own people for the financial good resulting from this interchange of commodities. The face of every American should turn crimson at the thought, and justly is hatred enkindled at the suggestion *we love gain so well our social and even moral, and political welfare shall be jeopardized for it.*

When a republic introduces into its midst a class that is encouraged in toil, and denied the franchise or accustomed privileges accorded the citizen, thereby subjecting this people to social and political ostracism, the government lays the corner stone of a system that entails the evils common to one of human slavery, and brings upon the industrial pursuits all that list of dangers slave labor has done in the many instances familiar to history.

In the present instance we have done more—have encouraged a class that comes already as slaves—labor as such and ruin the social and industrial promises of our laboring masses, thus oppressing and discouraging them at every avenue of industry.

It has been suggested by some that this immigration could be denied under our treaty, but by reference to articles 5, 6 and 7, in the treaty of 1868, it is at once seen that no such construction is to be placed on these claims. “The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of these citizens and subjects respectively, from



the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties therefore join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offence for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country, without their free and voluntary consent respectively.

Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations. \* \* \*

\* \* \* Citizens of the United States shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the government of China; and reciprocally, Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the government of the United States which are enjoyed in the respective countries by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation."

No one can for a moment doubt, with this provision before him, that the intention was in signing the treaty to put China on an exact equality with other powers in all respects, and she so stands, notwithstanding all the disadvantages before us already named with the additional fact that thousands of laborers are supported by this class of labor at the various places of industry, the degraded habits of this people in their social life—their

neglected ideas and license of social immorality in their midst—there can be no doubt this element is not only an evil but a threatening one that in time will destroy the energies of our State, and subvert industry and order by bringing discord and crime amongst all classes of both sexes.

Let us consider, however, another than the remedy, afforded by Congress one that avoids delays, one that insures success, and will crush and drive from our midst this people. Let the capitalists and those employing laborers and servants discharge all Coolie labor forthwith, and let the servants of all classes accept situations at prices the present pressure justifies. Capital cannot endure the accustomed high wages when a business crisis is upon us, and it is for the good of the employed it is not demanded ; and this element, then, will lose position, as few employ them in preference to others and the laborer prove himself worthy of his place by a careful observance of the rights of the employer.

To enable this system to be successful, prices for working should be reduced to the present standard, and by assistance from a well regulated labor bureau working in the interest of all, our trouble is at an end. Families should go further, however, and refuse all trade of every kind from the hands of this people. And let us rest assured soon the horde will disappear. It may be urged that this combination is an infringement on their rights. The only answer we make is self-preservation for ourselves, our society and families is our first and lasting duty, and we do not hesitate to say no man will commit a violation of any principle by this course, but insure protection to all. The laborer, of all others, will most cheerfully make the required sacrifice, and by so doing, restore his rights now threatened with absolute ruin.



THE  
CHINESE QUESTION  
ANALYZED.

A Lecture

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION,  
NOVEMBER 13TH, 1877.

*Shen*  
By J. G. KERR, M.D.,  
*1877*  
Twenty-three years a resident of China.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON CHINESE EMIGRATION.

SAN FRANCISCO:  
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# THE CHINESE QUESTION

## ANALYZED.

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The hostility of one portion of the inhabitants of this State against another portion is so great, and exerts so much influence on the entire population in creating uneasiness, disturbing business, and exciting apprehensions for the future, that the situation demands our most careful study and discussion, so that we may understand the nature of, and provide a remedy for, the dangers which are admitted by all to exist.

The presence of the Chinese on this coast is the disturbing element in the body politic, but a moment's thought will show that they are not the responsible cause. They are here by treaty rights, established, not at their solicitation, but as the result of efforts made by our own and other nations to open China to foreign commerce. They came here when the white population was small and their labor was needed. They were drawn here, too, as all men were drawn, by the wonderful mineral wealth of the State. No reasonable man can blame them for being here.

We must look, therefore, for the source of danger to some other cause, and we find it in the hostility of white laborers to the comparatively peaceable and inoffensive Chinese. The opening of the trans-continental railroad has largely increased the white population, and they, finding the Chinese able to compete successfully with them in many industries, have determined to put a stop to this competition—by lawful means if possible; but failing in their use, to put a stop to the competition by whatever means may be necessary. They propose:

1st. To stop immigration.

2d. To stop the employment of those here, and thus get rid of them.

The aggression is therefore altogether on the part of white residents, *and the responsibility for whatever danger threatens the public rests with them.*

In the remarks we have to make on several points connected with the Chinese question, we propose to review some recent passing events, and in doing so, we will show that society is drifting, under the lead of demagogues, to a state of disorder, and tending towards dangers which may be seen when too late; and we will also demonstrate that the remedies proposed to stop Chinese immigration and appease the laboring masses are utterly futile and impracticable, and can only result in deceiving, and thus exasperating the dangerous elements of society.

We need go no farther back than the mobs of July 23d, 24th, and 25th. These were the result of the upheaval in the Eastern States—a tidal wave of that excitement, rolling across the continent to the Pacific coast; but owing to peculiar local conditions, it took a different form here. The railroad companies were warned in time to prevent a repetition of the destruction made in Pittsburg and other places. There was no strike of employees, or of labor against capital, but it was the hostility of one class of laborers against another class.

As soon as a laboring man's meeting was got up, the question, "What about the Chinese?" indicated the channel in which men's minds were running. The passions of the multitude, already aroused by anti-Coolie agitators, burst forth with fury. It is not necessary to repeat here the story of those three nights of terror, incendiarism, and murder, nor to show how imminent danger to property and life were barely averted by the timely and decisive action of the Committee of Safety. The cry of the mob, "For Chinatown, boys—let's go for Chinatown!" indicated the predominant sentiment in their minds. But the destruction of property unconnected with Chinatown showed the Committee of Safety that the protection of the city required the protection of the Chinese. Succeeding events, however, show that the Committee of Safety and people generally have failed to learn that the protection of the rights of the white man requires that the Chinese shall be protected in their rights.

The election of September 5th is an event which unmistakably indicated the drift of public opinion. A political campaign has usually been an occasion for anti-Chinese excitement, but the late election, following so soon after the mobs, was characterized by a display of zeal on the part of both parties, which showed, even to a casual observer, how hostility to the Asiatic was the real question on which success depended. No man could hope for office who did not join in the cry against the Chinese. The daily papers were thoroughly agreed on the subject, the candidates were all above suspicion, and none of them ventured to whisper a

word against the prevailing sentiment. Meetings of anti-Coolie clubs and public gatherings of so-called laboring men were held, before and after the election, demanding that the Chinese should not be allowed to come to this country, and that those here should be dismissed from employment. Threats were freely indulged in, and the torch was applied in numerous instances to the property of those who refused to comply. This is an argument which a great many cannot resist, and those who employ it are encouraged directly by the violent and incendiary language of demagogues, and indirectly by the enforced silence of the more intelligent classes, whose necks are under the heel of the tyrant that wields the fiery sceptre.

In this warfare against the Chinese, the rights and liberty of the white man are just as much at stake as those of the Chinaman. Both must stand or fall together. The mob sets up the preposterous claim that it will dictate to people what kind of labor they shall employ. The daily papers do not dare to publish articles defending the rights of the Chinese; and freedom of discussion on this subject is almost as thoroughly suppressed as it was on the slavery question in the South before the war. Where is our boasted independence, when we dare not speak a word in favor of an abused, persecuted, and down-trodden class? Where is the liberty purchased for us by the blood of our fathers, when we must dismiss faithful and reliable workmen and servants at the bidding of the mob? The talk about the slavery and serfdom of the Chinese becomes ridiculous jargon when compared with the bondage under which the proud and haughty Caucasian thus bows his neck. Men may deny that such is their degradation, but no intelligent stranger can be an observer of things here for a week without seeing it.

The next event which I present to your notice is the "Memorial of the Senate of California to the Congress of the United States." The source from which this paper emanates, and the object with which it was prepared, makes it a document of more than ordinary importance. It is the result of the joint labors of seven chosen members of the Senate of California, appointed nearly two years ago. They have aimed, no doubt, to produce a paper that would convince the national Legislature that the salvation of the country and of the Anglo-Saxon race requires the exclusion of the Chinese from our shores.

We do not propose to follow, through all the labyrinths of sophistry and misrepresentation, this production of the seven statesmen of the California Senate, but we will show how thoroughly men in high and responsible positions have been made to succumb to demands of the mob spirit; and we will,

at the same time, show how they have stultified themselves by issuing a document, to go before the country and the world, which disregards facts, exhibits ignorance of international law and comity, and tramples on the clearest rights of man.

These statesmen of the California Senate, in dealing with a question which involves the interests of two neighboring nations and of multitudes of men of both races, have evinced a narrow selfishness which could not discern the true interests of either party; and in discussing the movements of masses of population they do not even touch on the fundamental natural laws which govern these movements.

The authors of this Memorial to Congress propose to deal with Chinese immigration on the ground that it is the "Coolie trade," or the slave trade in disguise. It would seem, however, that their minds are not altogether clear as to the exact nature of the servitude to which Chinese "slaves," who compete so successfully with free white labor, are held. We select the following epithets as indicating the mixed idea the authors have of slavery in the abstract, and of that form of it which they wish to abolish: "Slavery by contract;" "servile labor to them is their natural and inevitable lot;" "foreign serfs;" "master and serf;" "trade in men and women;" "by the unalterable structure of their intelligent being, voluntary slaves." "If cheap labor means servile labor, it is a burlesque on the policy of emancipation."

The committee have here brought to light a state of slavery not provided against either in the Constitution of the United States or in that of California, and they deserve great credit for coming forward as pioneer abolitionists, and they may rely upon the aid of all lovers of freedom in uniting with them to secure the addition to our national and State constitutions of amendments forbidding "slavery by contract," "voluntary slavery," and all such "servile labor" as is included in "cheap labor!"

The statesmen of the California Senate propose to appeal to a foreign power, "Great Britain, to coöperate with our own Government in the absolute prohibition of this trade in men and women." (P. 9.) It is well known, as the Committee truly say, that Great Britain has long pursued a "uniform policy in suppressing any traffic resembling the slave trade." But everybody knows that all this "trade in men and women," as they call it, passes through Hong Kong, a British colony, and is carried on almost exclusively in English and American ships.

Moreover, this slave trade, or Coolie traffic, or whatever it is, has been going on in Hong Kong for more than a



quarter of a century; for every man who goes to Australia, California, or Oregon, takes passage at that port. How can the committee reconcile this *fact* with Great Britain's uniform policy?

It is well known that only about four or five years ago the English Government did coöperate with our own and other Governments in putting a stop to the "Coolie trade" in Macao, a Portuguese colony, forty miles to the westward of Hong Kong. It is most marvellous that those Governments, while dealing with the traffic under the Portuguese and Spanish flags, should have paid no attention to the "trade in men and women" in Hong Kong, under the English and American flags. The only explanation that can be given is, that Chinese emigrants, sailing from Hong Kong, are just as free as any sailing from Liverpool or Cork.

If this is not so, we must infer that the Chinese are able to *carry on the slave trade on a gigantic scale, through a British port, under British and American flags, and to British and American ports*, and yet evade the laws so cleverly that the officers of neither Government have ever been able to bring forward sufficient proof to put a stop to it. If the committee admit that they are cunning enough to evade the laws so successfully, they need not attempt to match them in any thing. The Yankee must succumb to the "heathen Chinese," and it would be better to do it at once, and gracefully.

Nevertheless, the committee, in presenting this memorial to Congress, propose to accompany it with "an elaborate argument, supported by selections from the testimony of reliable witnesses," to prove that the "trade in men and women" at Hong Kong brings slaves or coolies to California. If, after all, there is *ample testimony* that Chinese, arriving here, are the victims of any kind of slave or coolie traffic, it is only necessary to transmit it to the British Cabinet, through the American minister in London, and a telegram to the Governor of Hong Kong will put an end immediately to the "trade in men and women" from that port. All that is required is *adequate evidence*.

The learned committee who are the authors of this remarkable paper on "voluntary slavery," and on the slave trade under the British and American flags, seem not to be aware that the British Cabinet is thoroughly posted on Chinese affairs, and especially on the Coolie traffic. The British Government, some fifteen years ago, established and conducted a system of Coolie emigration from Canton and Hong Kong to Demarara and Trinidad, to supply laborers to those colonies. This was similar in form to the Macao Coolie traffic, but differing from it in every other respect, the British Government being pledged to secure to the



laborer the enjoyments of his rights. This emigration was stopped a few years ago, on account of the difficulty of conducting it free from the evils attending that from Macao.

Moreover, the British Minister at Peking, and nearly all her Majesty's Consuls in China, are familiar with the language, laws, and customs of the country; and some of them are sinalogues of very high reputation. The British Government, therefore, has not only practical knowledge of the working of various systems of emigration, but has able and experienced men in her service in that Empire. That Government also keeps a staff of interpreters at Hong Kong and at all the treaty ports, so that her Majesty's officers have no occasion to unite with the committee in confessions of "ignorance of their language," but they are prepared to investigate any question that may arise, in which the interests of commerce or of humanity may be concerned; and it is simply an impossibility for the Coolie trade, or any traffic resembling the slave trade, to be carried on in Hong Kong, without being immediately brought to the notice of her Majesty's Government.

Therefore, the authors of this memorial to Congress stultify themselves by appealing to our own Government to ask the aid of the British Government in putting a stop to *what does not exist*—a mere phantom of diseased anti-Coolie imaginations.

One of the chief features of this remarkable paper, and that which makes it so important as one of the recent events bearing on public opinion, and showing the drift of public opinion in this State, is the threat of extirpation of the Chinese, which is held up in such solemn and portentous language. We here also notice the letter of Governor Irwin to the late Committee of Safety, which is important only because it is an evidence from a high source that if Congress fails to do the will of the anti-Chinese agitators, they will redress their imaginary wrongs with fire and sword. *This is the argument upon which advocates of the exclusion of the Chinese seem to rely when all others fail.*

The Senate Committee use the following language: "Is it not possible that free white labor, unable to compete with those foreign serfs, and perceiving its condition becoming slowly but inevitably more hopelessly abject, may unite in all the horrors of riot and insurrection, and defying the civil power, extirpate with fire and sword those who rob them of their bread, yet pay no tribute to the State? This is a frightful possibility, but we have within a brief period witnessed its portents." \* \* \* (P. 8.)

Governor Irwin, under date of July 31st, speaks as follows: "It is not doubtful which horn of the dilemma he

(the workingman) in the last resort will choose. He will abandon the field to the Chinaman. But it is fearful to think of the struggles he may make before he adopts this dread alternative. As he sees his fate slowly but surely overtaking him, it is appalling even to think of what he may attempt in his despair. In his desperation, he may, like blind Samson, lay hold of the pillars of the Temple and seek relief in one common and indiscriminate destruction. To be plain, the discontent of the workingmen on the Chinese question is a constant menace. The danger from this source can only be removed by removing its cause. In other words, the unlimited influx of Chinese to our shores must be stopped, or San Francisco and the State will be constantly exposed to dangers, compared with which the recent disturbances will be as molehills to mountains."

The committee farther say: "It is no answer that these uprisings are the work of the criminal classes only: they have a deep root in the sense of self-preservation. Throughout the length and breadth of California, the white laborer knows the effect of this grinding competition." \* \* \* (P. 8.)

The Committee of Safety, composed of leading men of the city, in their final report, refer to the fact that "antipathy to Coolie labor is becoming more and more intensified," and say that "the question we are called upon to face is, shall we permit the Pacific Slope to become a great Chinese colony where paganism shall reign supreme for an indefinite period of time to come?" and they express it as their "solemn conviction that it is the imperative duty of our Government to take immediate measures, in the interests of American civilization on the Pacific Coast, to negotiate a modification of the Burlingame Treaty, and of our treaties with England and Portugal if necessary, so as to prohibit the farther immigration of Chinese to our shores."

We might make, from the daily papers, numerous quotations similar to the above, but we wish to show the high places to which lawless men look for encouragement in their hostility to the Chinese. These extracts also show how the submission of public men is no uncertain indication of the fearful despotism which rules in this State, and which, if not checked, will precipitate the very calamities which men wish to avoid by submission.

The warfare against the Chinese is made professedly in behalf of the laboring man. The sufferings of the white laborer are dwelt upon and pointed out in pathetic language. But the Chinaman is a laboring man too. He must have food and clothing for himself and family, and a roof to cover him from the cold and the storm. He and his wife and children and his aged parents are as much creatures of

God as the man with a white skin, and the fruits of the earth produced or earned by the sweat of his brow are just as much the gifts of our common Father to him as to men of any other race or color. • God is no respecter of persons, and those who claim exclusive right to the blessings to be secured in any part of God's earth are presuming upon a favoritism which does not exist in the Divine economy.

We hear on all hands of the desparation to which the white laborer will be driven, as he sees the cheap labor of the Asiatic slowly, but surely, usurping what he claims as his own. The flames of burning cities and the torrents of blood in our streets are the frightful prices we are to pay for cheap labor. These are dwelt on as if the white man was the only one to complain—as if he was the one whose rights were invaded, and as if he had a divine right to exterminate those who stand in his way. The men who present to us the fearful retribution which awaits the Chinese, and those who are their friends, forget that the midnight torch is a weapon which Chinamen can use as well as white men. They forget that if they are displaced from factories and shops, to give place to their enemies, the lessons of incendiarism they have been taught can be practiced on a broader scale. If the white man undertakes, in this way, to put a stop to fair and open competition, the Chinaman may be driven, by oppression and injustice, to avenge wrongs which have been heaped upon him ever since he has been in this Christian country. This is an aspect of the case, a phase of the war, the anti-Coolie agitators have failed to consider. The patient endurance and martyr-like submission of a helpless people have encouraged their enemies to think that they have nothing to fear. And perhaps they have not from the Chinese. But they must know that a just God reigns in the heavens above and in the earth beneath. The oppression of the black race was continued until the cup of our iniquity was full, and our own swords were the ministers of the Almighty to execute his decrees. What torrents of blood and oceans of treasure were poured out to secure the rights of a down-trodden and abused race from Africa! Let us be wise in reference to the heathen in our midst from Asia, lest a worse fate overtake us.

We will now investigate the grounds on which it is proposed to invoke the interference of Congress.

The antagonism to the Chinese has arisen from the fact that they compete successfully in the labor market with men of other nationalities. There are various reasons why they have this advantage, and it is well to have a clear understanding on this point. One of the chief reasons, and one that is patent to everybody, is that white laborers are addicted to

the intemperate use of ardent spirits, and Chinese are not. It is a remarkable fact that a drunken Chinaman is a rare sight. During a long residence in one of the principal cities of the Empire, I have not seen, on an average, more than one a year. The white man spends his wages for liquor, unfits himself for work, and leaves his family in distress. This is the bane of our country and of our race. The multitudes of grog-shops, supported almost entirely by workingmen, and the millions of dollars worse than wasted every year, testify to the prevalence of the evil, and explains to a great extent why our own people have to give way to the sober, reliable, docile, patient Asiatic. The advantage here is overwhelmingly in favor of the latter, and it is greatly to his credit that it is so. If the Chinese were patrons of the corner groceries and innumerable rum-holes of the city, the hostility of a certain class would be very much moderated. When Congress undertakes to enact laws to exclude certain foreigners from our shores, it cannot discriminate in favor of the drunken and unreliable, as against the sober, industrious, and reliable.

It is objected that the Chinese labor cheaper than white men can or will labor. Cheap labor is what many people want. It is what people have a right to, if they can get it honestly; and to be deprived of it when it is brought to their doors is what freemen will not submit to. Men who do submit to the demands of the mob are not free men, and basely yielding one right, will prepare the way for parting with others. Congress cannot, therefore, exclude men of any nation because they work cheap.

Moreover, the industrial interests of the Pacific Slope are, to a very large extent, in the hands of Germans, Frenchmen, Jews, and other foreigners, who have not the race-prejudice characteristic of the Irish; and it would be unjust for the national Legislature to deprive them of the cheap labor with which they have gained success and added to the prosperity of the country.

It is objected to the Chinese that they have "earned \$180,000,000," the whole of which is "abstracted from the State and exported to China." (P. 5.) If they have earned it, they have rendered an equivalent, and they had a right to do with it as they chose; and certainly there has been no inducement to invest it where there are periodical outbreaks against them, and constant threats of extirpation by fire and sword. Moreover, the Government of the United States cannot exclude foreigners because they make money among us, or because they send it to other countries. This is done not only by foreigners, but very largely by native-born citizens every year, and however desirable it may be to keep all



our gold in the country, it cannot be done. Men have an inherent right to dispose of their property as they think best.

It is objected to the Chinese that they can live more cheaply than the white man, and are therefore able to underbid him in the labor market. This is true only to a limited extent. It is as much a necessity for the Chinese laborer to have a sufficient supply of good nutritious food as for the white laborer, and without it, neither can keep on at steady, continuous work. Now, rice is the staple article of food used by all Chinese, whether rich or poor, and it is more indispensable to them than flour is to us. The price of rice is about \$7 00 per 100 lbs. or double the price of flour, the staple article of the white man's table. Meats and vegetables will be about the same for both, while house rent will be against the white man. Taking all together, the difference cannot be very great, and is more apparent than real, because every Chinaman has friends at home dependant on him. But admitting that the Chinese are a frugal, economical people as a class, the fact or hypothesis furnishes no grounds on which Congress can take action to exclude them from the country.

It is objected to the Chinese that they are idolators, and men express the fear that "our State will become a Chinese colony, where paganism shall reign supreme for an indefinite period of time." It is a cardinal principle of our Government that every man shall have "liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience;" and if there is any subject on which the people will not brook interference by the general Government, it is that of religion. To propose, therefore, that Congress shall make the religion of foreigners a test of their fitness to land on our shores, can meet with no encouragement.

It may be admitted, and after a long and intimate knowledge of Chinese character in their own country, we have no controversy with those who assert that pagans are not a desirable element to be incorporated into the body politic, but we must go counter to the traditions of the fathers of the Republic, and the principles on which it is founded, if we would exclude either Catholics or pagans on account of their religion, however much some parties might desire to exclude both.

We have thus seen that the objections brought against the Chinese, that they are pagans, that they work cheap, that they are sober, industrious, and reliable, that they live cheap, that they make money and send it out of the country, form no basis on which to lay a claim that our national Legislature should enact laws to exclude them from the



country. We might also show that it is equally frivolous to ask Congress to legislate against them because they prefer their own style of dress, or their own style of food, or because they prefer to go back to their own country, while alive if they can, or to have their bodies sent back if they die. When we analyze the "memorial," and the papers to which we have referred and the anti-Chinese sermons, these are the reasons upon which the demand is made that foreigners from one country shall be shut out for the benefit of foreigners from other countries; but they have nothing to do with the question, and unless reasons which will bear investigation can be presented, the herculean efforts of politicians, editors, and anti-Coolie club orators must meet with a humiliating failure.

Upon what grounds, then, may Chinese immigration to our shores be limited? We answer:

First. Criminals may be excluded.

Second. Paupers may be excluded; and,

Third. Prostitutes may be excluded.

These are legitimate grounds for stopping immigration, as far as they apply, and they are the only grounds upon which an application can be made to stop people coming from any country. But laws already exist which apply to those classes, and if they are not stringent enough, they can easily be amended.

The great mass of Chinese who come to this country are from the agricultural districts of Canton Province, where they are taught from childhood that economy and patient industry which distinguishes the Chinese and Japanese from all other Asiatic nations. They are not, as the authors of the memorial falsely assert, "mainly of those having no homes or occupation on the land, but living in boats on the rivers, especially those in the vicinity of Canton." The entire male boat population of Canton and vicinity is little more than equal to the emigration to the Pacific Coast and Australia, while in those districts which furnish three-fourths of the whole, the rivers are small and the boat population not numerous.

That there are criminals among them who come from large cities and towns, and follow their thrifty countrymen to prey on them, no one will deny, but it is the province of the law, and the duty of its officers in a well-governed community, to deal with these men, without reference to race, color, or nationality.

There is, therefore, only one other effectual way of stopping the Chinese immigration, namely, mob violence; and if the law-abiding, liberty-loving, God-fearing citizens of California are ready to cast aside law, justice, honor, truth,

mercy, and peace, they can let loose fire and sword against the helpless, inoffensive, industrious strangers, but they must abide the terrible consequences.

Having examined the grounds on which it is demanded that congressional action shall be taken to exclude Chinese immigrants from our shores, and found them utterly unsound and worthless, we will now briefly notice the plans proposed by anti-Coolie statesmen, editors, and agitators to accomplish the end.

1st. The authors of the Senate Memorial to Congress propose—"an appeal to the Government of Great Britain to coöperate with our own Government in the absolute prohibition of the trade in men and women." This we have disposed of above.

2d. They propose—"The joint and friendly action of the two countries with the Empire of China in the abrogation of all treaties between the three nations permitting the emigration of Chinese to the United States." The abrogation of the Burlingame Treaty is altogether unnecessary, for two reasons. 1st. Because, if the Chinese are brought here as Coolies or slaves, that treaty does not protect the Coolie or slave trade, but absolutely prohibits it. 2d. All who come as *bona fide* emigrants, sail from Hong Kong, a British port, where our treaty with China has no force whatever.

The abrogation of our treaty with England, or any modification of it, cannot prevent free emigrants from sailing from her ports, unless that Government will consent to constitute itself a guard to keep away from us such people as we dislike. She must also put an arbitrary stop to a branch of legitimate business which has added very much to the prosperity of one of her colonies. It is therefore very clear that the abrogation of treaties with China and England is a vain hope, a futile resource.

3d. Another plan proposed by the Senate Committee in their Memorial to Congress is to "limit the number of Chinese allowed to be landed from any vessel entering the ports of the United States to, say, not more than ten." (P. 9.) This has received the sanction of Senator Sargent and other men of standing. The proposition is so absurd and unjust in its application to our own mercantile marine, and so utterly impracticable in its application to the vessels of all other nations, that I deem any further notice of it unnecessary.

4th. Another plan which has been proposed by the newspapers, and has the sanction of the Senate Committee, and of many men of respectability, is the non-employment of Chinese. This has been shown so clearly to be impracticable by the editor of the "Record-Union" of Sacramento,

that I quote his words. He says: "Very few people employ Chinese because they prefer them to white men, though it has been claimed for them that they are more docile and tractable than any other kind of laborers. But it is because they are cheap that people employ them, and the motives which induce people to seek and utilize the most economical forms of labor are far too powerful to be talked away. As to getting men to agree not to employ Chinese, we have seen that tried before, and know just what may be expected from it. Unless every employer of labor can be kept to his agreement strictly, the scheme will prove a failure inside of a month, and experience shows that it is impossible to secure this universal fidelity to promises. Take a trade in illustration, say that of shoemaking. Twenty manufacturers agree that they will employ no more Chinese labor. So long as they all hold to their agreement, providing that they represent the entire trade, they may stand the change. But presently they find that somebody is underselling them, and inquiry reveals the fact that they are competing with Chinese labor, even if their own friends do not employ it. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent Chinese capitalists from entering the business against them, and in that case, of course, no agreement of the kind noted can be had. Thus manufacturers are driven in self-defence to employ Chinese, and when it becomes a question with them of bankruptcy or cheap labor, it need not be doubted that they will prefer the latter."

The only way, therefore, of carrying out the non-employment plan is by the incendiarism and tyranny which has already been inaugurated, and which is daily threatening to include the white capitalist and the Chinese in the one common destruction.

There are some facts bearing on the mutual relations of China and this country which should be borne in mind by statesmen. China is educating her future rulers in this country. She has constructed arsenals and docks, and is making weapons of war and vessels of war of the most approved patterns. She is training her soldiers and seamen after the drill of the best disciplinarians. The material resources of the country, the mines of iron and coal, of silver and gold, have lain all these ages almost untouched, and now she is beginning to see the power which these resources have in store for her. Then, with a population so vastly outnumbering all other nations, she looks forward to the time when she will be able to maintain her rights and protect her people against all the powers of the earth. That time may be fifty, or it may be one hundred years hence, but it will surely come; and when it does come, if the American

nation can point to a record of honorable justice in intercourse with her in the days of her weakness, we may then claim her for an ally, and not fear her as an enemy. The wise statesman forecasts the future contingencies of his country, which passing events portend, and is not blinded by the partisan and selfish demands of demagogues.

The Senate Committee assure us that "the Chinese now here are protected by our treaty obligations and laws, and that they will continue to receive that protection, the people and Government of this State will be responsible." (P. 8.) Some anti-Coolie agitators profess to favor this; but let us inquire what this protection, thus promised, amounts to. It means, no doubt, that the Chinese shall be secure against mob violence. We have shown that nothing short of this will protect the lives and property of white people; and the late Committee of Safety gave a most noble and praiseworthy proof that they were sincere in protecting all from open violence. But protection includes vastly more than that. If men are not secured in the enjoyment of their *rights*, the obligations of the State are far from being fulfilled. We ask the question direct, will the law-abiding people of California pledge to the Chinese residents that they shall have their rights, and be secure in the enjoyment of them? This is what the white man and the black man have a right to demand, and we claim that it is due to every man.

To be definite, we submit two items:

First. Every youth has a right to the benefits of our free schools. The Chinese have this right in common with all others; and they pay into the School Fund of this State, in this city alone, over \$42,000 per annum, and a large sum in other parts of the State, while all Chinese youth are excluded from the public schools. We ask, will you unite in securing to them this right, and protecting them in the enjoyment of it?

Second. All men have a right to be protected from oppressive laws and taxation. I pass over the numerous unjust laws which disgrace the statute books of this State, the sole object of which was to oppress the stranger—the laboring man in our borders—and call your attention to one which is a blot on the nation. I refer to the law requiring a duty of \$1 25 on every 50 lbs. of rice imported from China. Rice is the staff of life to the Chinese, as bread is to us. This tax on rice is equivalent to a tax of \$5 00 per barrel on flour. It is the policy of the Government to discriminate in taxation in favor of the laboring man, and therefore the necessities of life are taxed lightly, or not at all. But here is an



oppressive tax on the very food which supports the life of a large class of laboring men who have no voice in making our laws. We ask again, will the law-abiding people of California unite in removing this oppressive burden, as well as those which have been imposed by the State? When this is done, when all are equally secure in the enjoyment of their rights, then will assurances of protection be a reality.

If a tax of \$5 00 was levied on each barrel of flour, how would the friends of the poor man denounce the Government? The papers would teem with editorials, and politicians would wax eloquent in defence of the rights of the laboring man, thus oppressed by an iniquitous taxation of his bread. But when the Government oppresses the patient, uncomplaining Asiatic, no voice is lifted in his defence, but the cry resounds on all sides, Drive him from every employment, expel him from the country! Even men professing to be the disciples of Christ unite in this unreasonable, unwise, and wicked persecution.

The authors of this memorial to Congress are sadly disappointed that the "residence here beneath the elevating influences of Christian precept and example, and the zealous labors of earnest Christian teachers" (p. 6) has not brought more of these pagans to adopt our religion and civilization. They say that there are "painfully few professing Christians among them."

It is a sufficient answer to this to say that it is no part of the object of the Chinese, in coming here, to learn our religion or civilization. They look back with a commendable pride upon a history of their own civilization, which, however we may now consider it defective, placed them, at no remote period, on an equality with other nations of the earth. They are proud of a literature of vast extent and of refined culture, embracing history, poetry, and philosophy, with voluminous dictionaries and encyclopædias, some of which were made long before our language had an existence. Centuries before education in Europe was emancipated from the shackles of the priesthood, a system had been established by which the Government of China encouraged the education of the people, and there has existed, for two thousand years, a literary class which has produced authors and statesmen whose names and works will be handed down through all time. As a commercial people, their own country has afforded such vast fields for enterprise that immense fortunes have been accumulated, and taste for luxury and the fine arts, and every thing that can be made to conduce to human enjoyment, has been indulged in to an extent that would astonish even our millionaires. It is not strange, therefore, that they should prefer their own civilization to that semi-barbarism



which has made their life here a state of constant anxiety and fear.

As to religion, some of those who came in search of gold have found the pearl of great price; and at last such humble ones, be they few or many, will be found in Abraham's bosom, while their enemies, if they do not repent, will lift up their eyes in torment.

That so few of them have embraced our religion is cause for regret, and has several reasons, one of which is given with much force by the Rev. Dr. Rexford, a Universalist minister of this city, who says: "Brothers Loomis and Gibson may impress a simple-minded Celestial with certain parts of the theory of Christianity, but the poor fellow will do well if he can receive this Christian lesson, and then reach his home without being pelted with stones from the hands of our young Christians, who constitute a part of the fruits of our Christianity. And generally, we shall find that the lesson of the stones received in the streets will be remembered longer, and will make a deeper impression concerning our Christianity, than the lesson from the preacher." Would the members of the Senate Committee, under similar circumstances in China, find their hearts inclined to embrace the doctrines of the sages Confucius or Lao Tsz? Painfully few, I fear.

There is a radical error underlying the hostility to the Chinese, and all the utterances of politicians, editors, ministers, and anti-Coolie club orators, concerning them. They are groping in the dark in search of a remedy which shall silence the clamors of the mob, remove the real and imaginary evils arising from their presence, and secure the monopoly of labor to a class. We have shown that these hopes are vain, that they rest upon foundations of sand, which the current of God's providence will in due time wash from under them.

It is assumed by all who oppose the Chinese that they have no right to come to this country, and that if the Burlingame Treaty was abrogated, the permission now granted to them would be withdrawn. The great natural law, however, is that man has an inherent, inalienable right to go to any part of the world he may choose, and there try to better his condition. The Chinese have the same natural right to come to this country that people of any other nationality have. Americans and Englishmen are found in almost every country in the world, and when they meet with barriers to their admission, diplomatists and fleets and armies scatter these barriers to the four winds. The War of 1812-14 was the testimony of this nation to the inherent right of men to change their home and their nationality if they choose.

When China and Japan were closed against foreign nations,

the fleets of England and America knocked at their doors, and, in answer to a very imperative invitation, they were opened to the commerce of all nations, and men of many nationalities now reside within their borders. It was deemed, and rightly deemed, that the interests of all parties required that the walls of exclusiveness, which had so long shut them in, should be broken down. Now it is proposed that we shall erect a great wall on our Western coast, in imitation of the semi-civilized nations of Asia, and exclude *them* from coming among us, when they find it to *their* advantage to do so. It is too late for us to do this; and that it is utterly futile to make the attempt, we have shown. And besides, the natural laws which govern the movements of populations, and establish the values of commodities (labor included) are superior to all human enactments, and will in the end override them all.

While writing this paper, the natural and inevitable results of the state of public opinion on the Chinese question are being worked out in the communistic demonstrations of the agitators. The community is reaping what politicians have sown. Hostility to the Chinese is a hobby on which they have rode into office, and in doing so, they kindled a fire which is rumbling in portentous quakings beneath their feet.

The arrest of a few of the leaders does not quench the fire which all these years has been carefully fanned. The agitation which has been encouraged by governors and legislators and mayors, and by aspirants for office, and, to a considerable extent, by Christian people, will not subside at the bidding of a policeman, a jury, or a court.

The hostility to the Chinese is founded on falsehood, on ignorance, and on injustice. To remove these is the demand of the hour. The remedies required are therefore evident:

1st. Let free and full discussion of both sides of the question be established, and thus ignorance will be dissipated and falsehood exposed by the light of truth. As long as the press is shackled, and the two or three outspoken advocates of an oppressed and despised race are hooted, maligned, and threatened with violence, it is an abuse of language to say that we live in a free country.

2d. Let the rights of the Chinese be secured to them. This includes the repeal of all unjust and oppressive laws, whether municipal, State, or national. It includes the right to education, the right to labor and to employ labor, and to enjoy the fruits of labor. It includes the right to representation in the legislative department of our government on such equitable and just qualification as may be deemed wise. It includes also the right to be punished for crimes; and to assure justice in our courts, it is of the utmost importance

that a staff of qualified and reliable interpreters should be provided.

Having discharged these duties on our part, and the proper diplomatic officers having been sent here by the Imperial Government of China, those who are now the objects of abuse and maltreatment will be elevated to a position commanding respect, and the prejudice and hatred against them will die out, just as it has in the case of the negro.

In this way, and in our humble opinion in this way alone, can the smouldering fires of insurrection and incendiarism be quenched, and the dangers which threaten our city and State be averted. The welfare of the laboring man of every race is bound up in the public peace and security, and his true friends are those who, by wise counsels and prudent measures, secure to him these inestimable blessings.

When those who have undertaken to solve the Chinese problem will present some rational, just, and common sense method of attaining the object proposed, then may Christian citizens unite in promoting it. But as yet no such method has been found, and the advocates of exclusion cannot agree among themselves on the plans brought forward. I have attempted to show that no just and practical method can be proposed. If that proves to be correct, then it is very evident that the Chinese are not only here by the providence of God, but that the same unerring Providence designs them to remain here; and it is wisdom on our part to elevate and educate and Christianize them, thus making them good citizens.

It has not entered into the plan of this paper to discuss the obligations of Christians to present to the Chinese around us the blessings and hopes of our holy religion, but I wish to say to any who admit this obligation, that it is utterly useless to hold up the gospel of love and peace in one hand, while the other lends aid to that abuse, injustice, and oppression which sends so many of them back to their own benighted land, hating, with a bitter hatred of our laws, our civilization and our religion. The most pressing duty of the Church in California is to see that all her members wash their hands of the guilt of giving aid and comfort to those who are engaged in this unchristian persecution of their fellow-men. How many of our ministers and members have forgotten the parable of the good Samaritan, and have fallen in with the turbid stream of public opinion against the Chinese, and thus placed in the way of Christian effort the greatest obstacles to the conversion of those whom God, in his providence, has sent to our doors!

## APPENDIX.

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### CHINESE EMIGRATION.

The following extracts on Chinese emigration are from an article by J. G. KERR, M. D., on the Chinese question, in the "Occident" of Jan. 31, 1877. It is thought necessary to republish them here, as there is so much misrepresentation by those who wish to convince the public and the lawmakers that the Chinese are not voluntary emigrants.

Emigration from China has been conducted under three different systems, each of which was marked by peculiar characteristics, and was recognized as good or evil, and was dealt with, by government and people, according to its merits.

The headquarters of one system were at Macao, a city under Portuguese rule, forty miles west of Hong Kong. It was carried on by Portuguese, Spaniards, and Peruvians, and was known as the Macao Coolie trade. The destination of the Coolies was Peru and Cuba. Contracts were made and signed with each Coolie for a certain number of years and at a fixed rate of wages. But the parties shipping the Coolies, after landing them and receiving the enormous profits of the speculation, had no further responsibility or power, and the poor Coolies were left in the guano islands, and in Cuba—the land of slavery—with no power in which they could trust for protection. A great number of these men were enticed by false representations, and many were kidnapped by agents or brokers, who took them to the barracoons in Macao, and were paid so much per head. These Coolie brokers became so obnoxious that whenever they were caught they were beheaded by the Chinese authorities; and a report in the city that a batch of them had ended their career at the execution-ground gave general satisfaction. Vessels bearing the English, American, and German flags were forbidden to carry these Coolies; and the business became so offensive to civilized nations that they united in demanding its suppression. The Portuguese Government, in



compliance with this demand, issued a decree abolishing the traffic about three years ago. Although this system was conducted under the forms of law, it was, in reality, little better than the African slave trade, as a recital of the tragedies on board the Coolie ships will amply testify. It was regarded with horror, alike by Chinese and Europeans, and its suppression was a great triumph of humanity.

There was another system, similar in form to the above, having its headquarters at Canton, but it was essentially different in character, and was in all respects legitimate and honorable. It was instituted by the British Government, to provide laborers for British Guiana and the Island of Trinidad, and was conducted by Mr. Theophilus Sampson, a most humane and honorable man. In the contract made with the Coolies, the British Government was the party on one side, and was pledged to see that the Chinese were fairly dealt with, and were not deprived of their rights. This system was in operation only about ten or twelve years, and was discontinued, partly because of the odium arising from the Macao trade, and the difficulty of disconnecting it from the abuses of that trade.

The third system of emigration is not of so recent origin as the others. Three hundred years ago, when Europeans first visited the far East, they found colonies of Chinese in the Phillippine Islands, Borneo, the Malayan peninsula, and Siam. The emigration to these places goes on to this day, the only difference being that passengers are now conveyed in foreign vessels instead of native junks. The discovery of gold in California and Australia attracted Chinese to these places, but from a locality entirely different from the sources which supplied men to the East Indian islands and Siam. It is a remarkable feature of Chinese emigration that it pursues fixed and almost unvarying channels; and it is to be noted that the English colony of Hong Kong is either the point of departure or a port of call for all the vessels carrying these emigrants. From Amoy, a district in Fokien Province, all who emigrate, go to the Phillippine Islands. From Swatow, in the eastern part of Canton Province, the destination is Siam. In the northeastern part of Canton Province is a distinct tribe of Chinese, many of whom have found their way to Borneo. The central and southwest parts of the same province supply all the men who go to California and Australia. Now, this system of emigration has been in operation for centuries, the different streams starting in definite but different localities, and terminating each in a different country. The best possible opportunity is thus afforded for detecting irregularities or oppressive practices in its prosecution. It is, however, a fact well known to all



residents in China, that it goes on quietly from year to year, passing through Hong Kong, and using English and American steamers and sailing vessels; and there is no intimation that the abuses connected with the Macao Coolie trade have ever been associated with this in the minds of either natives or foreigners. This is a sufficient evidence that it is voluntary emigration. But the British authorities and the American consul in Hong Kong are required to see that no individual is taken passenger in any of the vessels of these nations against his will. They have been especially vigilant in this matter since the Hong Kong papers brought to light the horrors of the Macao Coolie traffic. It is well known that for some years Chinese prostitutes (who are in reality slaves) have not been allowed to leave Hong Kong in vessels carrying emigrants, and the present American consul, Mr. Bayley, has done himself much credit by preventing the prosecution of this most inhuman form of human slavery in American vessels.

In reference to emigration to California it is said by some: "We have enough for the present, and would like to shut the floodgates before the Coast is deluged with heathenism. If China should send one-fifth of one per cent., or one man in every five hundred of her population, the Chinamen would outnumber all the rest of the inhabitants of this Coast, and would control its destiny."

The estimate of one of every five hundred would bring 400,000. It is a sufficient answer to this to say that, after twenty-five or more years of unrestricted emigration, we find only about 100,000 Chinese in the country. The probabilities are that this number will not increase rapidly, because the source of supply is a limited district of the Province of Canton, viz., the counties of San-hwui, San-ning, Hoi-ping, and Yan-ping, which supply the great majority of emigrants, not only to California, but to Australia, while some other counties send a small number. China is divided into eighteen Provinces, and only three of these have ever sent emigrants to any country over the sea, and the great central area of the Empire was so depopulated by the great Tae-ping Rebellion that many years will pass before it is again filled up and restored to its former prosperity.

The city of Shanghai is the great commercial emporium of China, situated near the mouth of the Yang-tsz river, and is in direct communication with all the interior provinces, as well as the coast provinces north and south. During a period of ten years, there has been a line of steamers between that port and San Francisco, running most of the time twice a month, *and yet not a single emigrant for California has ever sailed from that port.*

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But suppose 400,000 Chinese were taken with a sudden desire to come to California, it would require nearly all the steamers in the world to bring them in a year, and commerce and travel would have to be suspended in other oceans to accommodate the trade of California. More than one thousand men would be landed every day in the year, to be lodged, fed, and provided with employment. The arrival of so many men would give such an activity to business as the oldest Californian has never seen. Real estate and house-rent would go up rapidly, the provision market would be pressed to its utmost, and shipping, with all its branches, would be very active, and skilled labor would be in demand. With all this prosperity, Chinese labor would decline, and would soon be reduced so low that everybody could keep several servants, and thousands of Chinese would be willing to work for food enough to sustain life. Indeed, the 30,000 arriving the first month would overstock the market, and the leading Chinese merchants would telegraph to Hong Kong that there was neither employment nor food for any more.

*California, ... Senate ...*  
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# CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

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The Social, Moral and Political Effect of Chinese Immigration.

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POLICY AND MEANS OF EXCLUSION.

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MEMORIAL OF THE SENATE OF CALIFORNIA TO THE CONGRESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES, AND AN ADDRESS TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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*PREPARED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE OF CALIFORNIA.*

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COMMITTEE:

Hon. CREED HAYMOND, of Sacramento, Chairman;

Hon. FRANK McCOPPIN, of San Francisco; Hon. GEORGE H. ROGERS, of San Francisco;

Hon. W. M. PIERSON, of San Francisco; Hon. E. J. LEWIS, of Tehama;

Hon. M. J. DONOVAN, of San Francisco; Hon. GEO. S. EVANS, of San Joaquin.



SACRAMENTO:  
STATE PRINTING OFFICE.  
1877.



# MEMORIAL

## OF THE SENATE OF CALIFORNIA TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

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*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.*

Your memorialists respectfully represent unto your honorable bodies as follows:

That on the third day of April, eighteen hundred and seventy-six, in the Senate of the State of California, Creed Haymond, Senator from the Eighteenth Senatorial District, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of California,* That a committee of five Senators be appointed, with power to sit at any time or place within the State, and the said committee shall make inquiry:

1. As to the number of Chinese in this State, and the effect their presence has upon the social and political condition of the State.
2. As to the probable result of Chinese immigration upon the country, if such immigration be not discouraged.
3. As to the means of exclusion, if such committee should be of the opinion that the presence of the Chinese element in our midst is detrimental to the interests of the country.
4. As to such other matters as, in the judgment of the committee, have a bearing upon the question of Chinese immigration. And be it further

*Resolved,* That said committee \* \* \* shall prepare a memorial to the Congress of the United States, which memorial must set out at length the facts in relation to the subject of this inquiry, and such conclusions as the committee may have arrived at as to the policy and means of excluding Chinese from the country. And be it further

*Resolved,* That said committee is authorized and directed to have printed, at the State Printing Office, a sufficient number of copies of such memorial, and of the testimony taken by said committee, to furnish copies thereof to the leading newspapers of the United States, five copies to each member of Congress, ten copies to the Governor of each State, and to deposit two thousand copies with the Secretary of State of California for general distribution. And be it further

*Resolved,* That such committee shall \* \* \* furnish to the Governor of the State of California two copies of said memorial, properly engrossed, and the Governor, upon receipt thereof, be requested to transmit, through the proper channels, one of said copies to the Senate and the other to the House of Representatives of the United States. And be it further

*Resolved,* That said committee have full power to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths, and examine witnesses under oath, and that a majority of said committee shall constitute a quorum.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Resolved,* That said committee report to the Senate, at its next session, the proceedings had hereunder.

Subsequently, on motion, the Senate increased the number of the committee to seven, and the following Senators were appointed on



said committee: Senators Haymond, McCoppin, Pierson, Donovan, Rogers, Lewis, and Evans.

That under the authority of the resolutions we have inquired into the subject of Chinese immigration into the United States, and particularly into the State of California, and into the past, present, and probable future results of this immigration upon our people; and from the evidence adduced before us, whereof a report and argument is also herewith presented, we respectfully submit the following considerations:

The State of California has a population variously estimated at from seven hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand, of which one hundred and twenty-five thousand are Chinese. The additions to this class have been very rapid since the organization of the State, but have been caused almost entirely by immigration, and scarcely at all by natural increase. The evidence demonstrates beyond cavil that nearly the entire immigration consists of the lowest orders of the Chinese people, and mainly of those having no homes or occupations on the land, but living in boats on the rivers, especially those in the vicinity of Canton.

This class of the people, according to the castes into which Chinese society is divided, are virtually pariahs—the dregs of the population. None of them are admitted into any of the privileges of the orders ranking above them. And while rudimentary education is encouraged, and even enforced among the masses of the people, the fishermen and those living on the waters and harbors of China are excluded by the rigid and hoary constitutions of caste from all participation in such advantages.

It would seem to be a necessary consequence, flowing from this class of immigration, that a large proportion of criminals should be found among it; and this deduction is abundantly sustained by the facts before us, for of five hundred and forty-five of the foreign criminals in our State Prison, one hundred and ninety-eight are Chinese—nearly two-fifths of the whole—while our jails and reformatories swarm with the lower grade of malefactors.

The startling fact also appears that the actual cost of keeping these one hundred and ninety-eight State prisoners alone exceeds by twelve thousand dollars per annum the entire amount of revenue collected by the State from all the property assessed to Chinese.

But the criminal element in the Chinese population is very much greater than the figures above given would indicate, for conviction for crime among this class is extremely difficult. Our ignorance of the Chinese language, the utter want of comprehension by them of the crime of perjury, their systematic bribery, and intimidation of witnesses, and other methods of baffling judicial action, all tend to weaken the authority of our laws and to paralyze the power of our Courts.

A graver difficulty still is developed in the existence among the Chinese population of secret tribunals unrecognized by our laws and in open defiance thereof, an *imperium in imperio* that undertake and actually administer punishment, not infrequently of death. These tribunals exercise the power of levying taxes, commanding masses of men, intimidating interpreters and witnesses, enforcing perjury, punishing the refractory, removing witnesses beyond the reach of process, controlling liberty of action, and preventing the return of Chinese to their homes in China. In fact, there exists amongst us

tribunals and laws alien to our form of government and which practically nullify and supersede both National and State authority.

The Chinese females who immigrate to this State are, almost without exception, of the vilest and most degraded class of abandoned women. The effect of this element in our midst upon the health and morals of our youth is exhibited in the testimony. Its disgusting details cannot, for obvious reasons, be enlarged upon in this memorial. These women exist here in a state of servitude, beside which African slavery was a beneficent captivity. The contracts upon which their bodies are held under this system are fully explained and set out in the evidence, and we submit more than sustain what might otherwise be regarded as an extravagant deduction.

The male element of this population, where not criminal, comes into a painful competition with the most needy and most deserving of our people—those who are engaged, or entitled to be engaged, in industrial pursuits in our midst. The common laborer, the farm hand, the shoe-maker, the cigar-maker, the domestic male and female, and workmen of all descriptions, find their various occupations monopolized by Chinese labor, employed at a compensation upon which white labor cannot possibly exist. Amelioration of this hardship might be possible to a limited extent if the proceeds of this labor were invested in our State, distributed among our people, and made to yield a revenue to the government for the protection afforded by it to this class of our population. But the reverse is the fact, for of six hundred millions of taxable property in the State, in the last fiscal year, but one million and a half was assessed to Chinese. Thus one-sixth of the entire population pays less than one four-hundredths part of the revenue required to support the State Government.

And, in addition to this alarming fact, we find that of the one hundred and eighty millions, if not more, earned by them during their continuance here, the whole is abstracted from the State and exported to China, thus absolutely impoverishing instead of enriching the country affording them an asylum. The sharp contrast between the results of that kind of labor and of white labor with its investment in homes, its accumulation of wealth, and additions to our revenue, must be obvious even to a partial mind. Fertile lands, that scarcely require tillage to produce a harvest, are lying idle, partially because the laborer that would purchase and improve them can earn nothing above a bare support wherewith to buy, while the Chinese, who can by their habits of life practically subsist on nothing and save money, export their savings instead of here accumulating property. What the one hundred and eighty millions of solid gold shipped from California to a foreign country would produce, if retained here by white labor and invested in the soil, in the homes and firesides of our own race, requires no illustration or argument. California, instead of being a State of cities, might be a State of prosperous farms; instead of being in a condition (considering her extraordinary natural advantages) of wonderful yet healthy progress, we find her so retarded in her growth as to amount almost to retrogression.

It is a trite saying, however, that competition in labor is healthful. True—but not between free and slave labor; and the Chinese in California are substantially in a condition of servitude. Ninety-nine one-hundredths of them are imported here by large com-

panies under contracts to repay to the importers out of their labor the cost of their transportation and large interest upon the outlay, and these contracts frequently hold their subjects for long periods. During the existence of these contracts the Chinese are, to all intents, serfs, and as such are let out to service at a miserable pittance to perform the labor that it ought to be the privilege of our own race to perform. Even were it possible for the white laborer to maintain existence upon the wages paid to the Chinese, his condition nevertheless becomes that of an abject slave, for grinding poverty is absolute slavery. The vaunted "dignity of labor" becomes a biting sarcasm when the laborer becomes a serf.

Irrespective, however, of this slavery by contract, the Chinese who inundate our shores are, by the very constitution of their nature, by instinct, by the traditions of their order for thousands of years, serfs. They never rise above that condition in their native land, and by the inexorable decrees of caste, never can rise. Servile labor to them is their natural and inevitable lot. Hewers of wood and drawers of water they have been since they had a country, and servile laborers they will be to the end of time. Departure from that level with them is never upward; the only change, apparently, is from servitude to crime.

The pious anticipations that the influence of Christianity upon the Chinese would be salutary, have proved unsubstantial and vain. Among one hundred and twenty-five thousand of them, with a residence here beneath the elevating influences of Christian precept and example, and with the zealous labors of earnest Christian teachers, and the liberal expenditure of ecclesiastical revenues, we have no evidence of a single genuine conversion to Christianity, or of a single instance of an assimilation with our manners, or habits of thought or life. There are a few, painfully few, professing Christians among them, but the evidence confirms us in asserting that with these the profession is dependent to a great extent upon its paying a profit to the professor. Those Christians who hailed with satisfaction the advent of the Chinese to our shores, with the expectation that they would thus be brought beneath the benign influences of Christianity, cannot fail to have discovered that for every one of them that has professed Christianity, a hundred of our own youth, blighted by the degrading contact of their presence, have been swept into destruction.

Neither is there any possibility that in the future education, religion, or the other influences of our civilization can effect any change in this condition of things. The Chinese in California are all adults. They are not men of families. The family relation does not exist here among them. Not one in a thousand is married; and, in addition, their habits of opium eating are practically destructive of the power of procreation. So that whatever improvement might otherwise be anticipated from instilling into the comparatively unformed and receptive minds of a young and rising generation the educational and religious maxims that control our own race is thus effectually precluded.

Above and beyond these considerations, however, we believe, and the researches of those who have most attentively studied the Chinese character confirm us in the consideration, that the Chinese are incapable of adaptation to our institutions. The national intellect of China has become decrepit from sheer age. It has long since passed its prime and is waning into senility. The iron manacles of



caste which prevail in that Empire are as cruel and unyielding as those which chain the sudras in Hindostan to a hereditary state of pauperism and slavery. As an acute thinker has sagaciously observed, the Chinese seem to be antediluvian men renewed. Their code of morals, their forms of worship, and their maxims of life, are those of the remotest antiquity. In this aspect they stand a barrier against which the elevating tendency of a higher civilization exerts itself in vain. And, in an ethnological point of view, there can be no hope that any contact with our people, however long continued, will ever conform them to our institutions, enable them to comprehend or appreciate our form of government, or to assume the duties or discharge the functions of citizens.

During their entire settlement in California they have never adapted themselves to our habits, modes of dress, or our educational system, have never learned the sanctity of an oath, never desired to become citizens, or to perform the duties of citizenship, never discovered the difference between right and wrong, never ceased the worship of their idol gods, or advanced a step beyond the musty traditions of their native hive. Impregnable to all the influences of our Anglo-Saxon life they remain the same stolid Asiatics that have floated on the rivers and slaved in the fields of China for thirty centuries of time.

In view of all this we inquire, what are the benefits conferred upon us by this isolated and degraded class? The only one ever suggested was "cheap labor." But if cheap labor means white famine it is a fearful benefit. If cheap labor means not only starvation for our own laborers, but a gradual, yet certain, depletion of the resources of our State for the enriching of a semi-civilized foreign country, it is a benefit hitherto unknown to the science of political economy. If cheap labor means servile labor, it is a burlesque on the policy of emancipation. And if this kind of cheap labor brings in its train the demoralization consequent upon the enforced idleness of our own race, the moral degradation attendant upon the presence in our midst of the most disgusting licentiousness, and the absolute certainty of pestilence arising from the crowded condition and filthy habits of life of those who perform this so-called cheap labor, it were well for all of us that it should be abolished.

We thus find one-sixth of our entire population composed of Chinese coolies, not involuntary, but, by the unalterable structure of their intellectual being, voluntary slaves. This alien mass, constantly increasing by immigration, is injected into a republic of freemen, eating of its substance, expelling free white labor, and contributing nothing to the support of the government. All of the physical conditions of California are in the highest degree favorable to their influx. Our climate is essentially Asiatic in all its aspects. And the Federal Government by its legislation and treaties fosters and promotes the immigration. What is to be the result? Does it require any prophetic power to foretell? Can American statesmen project their vision forward for a quarter of a century and convince themselves that this problem will work out for itself a wise solution? In that brief period, with the same ratio of increase, this fair State will contain a Chinese population outnumbering its freemen. White labor will be unknown, because unobtainable, and then how long a period will elapse before California will, nay must, become essen-

tially a State with but two orders of society—the master and the serf—a lesser Asia, with all its deathly lethargy?

Or, on the other hand, may we not foresee a more dire result? Is it not possible that free white labor, unable to compete with these foreign serfs, and perceiving its condition becoming slowly but inevitably more hopelessly abject, may unite in all the horrors of riot and insurrection, and defying the civil power, extirpate with fire and sword those who rob them of their bread, yet yield no tribute to the State? This is a frightful possibility, but we have within a brief period witnessed its portents, and had it not been for the untiring vigilance of the conservative portion of our people, we might have seen not only the Chinese quarters, but our cities, in ashes, and families homeless, and the prosperity and good fame of California shattered and disgraced.

It is no answer that these uprisings are the work of the criminal classes only—they have a root deep as the sense of self-preservation. Throughout the length and breadth of California the white laborer knows the effect of this grinding competition. He reads it not in books, nor in the press; he learns it from no lips; he feels it in the empty pocket, the hopeless search for labor, and the gaunt want that sits at his hearth.

The duty devolves upon us to suggest a remedy for the suppression of this immigration.

The Chinese now here are protected by our treaty obligations and laws, and that they will continue to receive that protection the people and government of this State will be responsible. If further immigration is prevented they will gradually return to their own country, and the occupations in which they are now engaged will be supplied with laborers and immigrants of our own race. The temper of the people of California is such that the employment of Chinese will be, as it has to a considerable extent already been, discouraged, and this will effectually compel their departure.

As to future immigration, neither a total nor partial abrogation of the Burlingame treaty will afford relief. The mass of, indeed the entire, immigration comes from the port of Hongkong, a British Colony. No alteration in our treaty stipulations with China could have the slightest effect upon the passenger trade of that port.

The British Colonies of Australia have, like us, suffered under the incubus, and have recently endeavored by hostile legislation, and in some instances by force, to effect the exclusion and obstruct the further ingress of Chinese. Those agitations, coupled with the earnest and uniform policy of Great Britain of suppressing any traffic resembling the slave trade, convince us that an appeal to that country would lead to the desired result. Indeed, we may well assume, in view of the amicable relations existing between the English Cabinet and people and the United States that, in the absence of any urgent reasons addressing themselves peculiarly to Her Majesty's Government, it would, upon proper diplomatic representations, cordially coöperate with our own government in arriving at a satisfactory remedy.

With the Chinese Government there need be no difficulty. As will appear by the report, that government is opposed to the emigration of its people, and in our judgment, founded upon reliable evidence, would readily consent to a modification of existing treaties;



and for this reason, also, such modification would not necessarily disturb, in any manner, our commercial relations with China.

We would, therefore, most respectfully suggest as the means of a final solution of this grave and ever increasing difficulty :

*First*—An appeal to the Government of Great Britain to coöperate with our own government in the absolute prohibition of this trade in men and women; and

*Second*—The joint and friendly action of the two countries with the Empire of China in the abrogation of all treaties between the three nations permitting the emigration of Chinese to the United States.

And in the meantime we earnestly recommend legislation by Congress limiting the number of Chinese allowed to be landed from any vessel entering the ports of the United States to, say, not more than ten.

This policy would in a great degree tend to a redress of the grievances that now sorely afflict our State, and threaten to overshadow her prosperity.

And your memorialists will ever pray, etc.

Adopted at a meeting of the Committee held in the City of San Francisco, August thirteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven.



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AN ADDRESS  
TO  
THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES  
UPON  
THE EVILS OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

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# AN ADDRESS

## TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES UPON THE EVILS OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

PREPARED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF  
CALIFORNIA.

*To the People of the United States, other than those of the State of  
California.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS: On the third day of April, eighteen hundred and seventy-six, in the Senate of the State of California, the Hon. Creed Haymond, Senator from the Eighteenth Senatorial District, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of California,* That a committee of five Senators be appointed, with power to sit at any time or place within the State, and the said committee shall make inquiry:

1. As to the number of Chinese in this State, and the effect their presence has upon the social and political condition of the State.

2. As to the probable result of Chinese immigration upon the country, if such immigration be not discouraged.

3. As to the means of exclusion, if such committee should be of the opinion that the presence of the Chinese element in our midst is detrimental to the interests of the country.

4. As to such other matters as, in the judgment of the committee, have a bearing upon the question of Chinese immigration. And be it further

*Resolved,* That said committee \* \* \* shall prepare a memorial to the Congress of the United States, which memorial must set out at length the facts in relation to the subject of this inquiry, and such conclusions as the committee may have arrived at as to the policy and means of excluding Chinese from the country. And be it further

*Resolved,* That said committee is authorized and directed to have printed, at the State Printing Office, a sufficient number of copies of such memorial, and of the testimony taken by said committee, to furnish copies thereof to the leading newspapers of the United States, five copies to each member of Congress, ten copies to the Governor of each State, and to deposit two thousand copies with the Secretary of State of California for general distribution. And be it further

*Resolved,* That such committee shall \* \* \* furnish to the Governor of the State of California two copies of said memorial, properly engrossed, and the Governor, upon receipt thereof, be requested to transmit, through the proper channels, one of said copies to the Senate and the other to the House of Representatives of the United States. And be it further

*Resolved,* That said committee have full power to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths, and examine witnesses under oath, and that a majority of said committee shall constitute a quorum.

\* \* \* \* \*  
*Resolved,* That said committee report to the Senate, at its next session, the proceedings had hereunder.

To the investigation with which we were charged—*quasi judicial* in its character, and in the unsettled state of the country of the highest



importance—we addressed ourselves, having but one object in view, the ascertainment of truth. The facts herein stated are found from evidence adduced before us by all parties in interest. The results in the memorial to the Congress of the United States and this paper stated are the solemn convictions that have been forced upon our minds.

#### NUMBER OF CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

There are in the State of California over one hundred thousand subjects of the Empire of China. Of this number, all but about three thousand are male adults, and that three thousand are females held in slavery by their own people for the basest purposes. The male adult Chinese population in this State very nearly equals the number of voters in the State. Their influence upon our interests are much more serious than it would be if this population was made up of families. Then, according to the accepted ratio, it would only represent a male adult population of about twenty thousand. This is a view of the situation not fairly presented as yet to the citizens of our sister States.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE PRESENCE OF THE CHINESE UPON THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE STATE.

It has often been said that the State of California is the "Child of the Union." It is certainly true that her citizens are the representatives of society as it exists in the other States. They brought with them to this State that love of law and order which is part of the traditions of our race, and far from eastern civilization have founded upon the Pacific Coast a State Government and municipal governments which for a quarter of a century and more have compared favorably with any known to civilization. The laws have been enforced, financial obligations have been met with religious fidelity, and in all things governmental we have been worthy—we urge it with a just pride—of that exalted station which the States of this Union have taken in the world's empire. We call the attention of the Representatives in Congress from our sister States to these facts, that when they come to the consideration of the grave problem forced upon this State, and upon the Union, they may not attribute the evils which have resulted in this State from Chinese immigration to anything peculiar to the people or government of this State, or to any lack of willingness or ability upon the part of either to grapple with the question. The accident of locality brought the evil to our door, as it might have brought it or some other to yours.

All must admit that the safety of our institutions depends upon the homogeneity, culture, and moral character of our people. It is true that the Republic has invited the people of foreign countries to our borders, but the invitation was given with the well founded hope that they would, in time, by association with our people, and through the influence of our public schools, become assimilated to our native population.

The Chinese came without any special invitation. They came before we had time to consider the propriety of their admission to our country. If any one ever hoped they would assimilate with our people that hope has long since been dispelled.

The Chinese have now lived among us, in considerable numbers,

for a quarter of a century, and yet they remain separate, distinct from, and antagonistic to our people in thinking, mode of life, in tastes and principles, and are as far from assimilation as when they first arrived.

They fail to comprehend our system of government; they perform no duties of citizenship; they are not available as jurymen, cannot be called upon as a *posse comitatus* to preserve order, nor be relied upon as soldiers.

They do not comprehend or appreciate our social ideas, and they contribute but little to the support of any of our institutions, public or private.

They bring no children with them, and there is, therefore, no possibility of influencing them by our ordinary educational appliances.

There is, indeed, no point of contact between the Chinese and our people through which we can Americanize them. The rigidity which characterizes these people forbids the hope of any essential change in their relations to our own people or our government.

We respectfully submit the admitted proposition that no nation, much less a republic, can safely permit the presence of a large and increasing element among its people which cannot be assimilated or made to comprehend the responsibilities of citizenship.

The great mass of the Chinese residents of California are not amenable to our laws. It is almost impossible to procure the conviction of Chinese criminals, and we are never sure that a conviction, even when obtained, is in accordance with justice.

This difficulty arises out of our ignorance of the Chinese language, and the fact that their moral ideas are wholly distinct from our own. They do not recognize the sanctity of an oath, and utterly fail to comprehend the crime of perjury. Bribery, intimidation, and other methods of baffling judicial action, are considered by them as perfectly legitimate. It is an established fact that the administration of justice among the Chinese is almost impossible, and we are, therefore, unable to protect them against the persecutions of their own countrymen, or punish them for offenses against our own people. This anomalous condition, in which the authority of law is so generally vacated, imperils the existence of our republican institutions to a degree hitherto unknown among us.

This mass of aliens are not only not amenable to law, but they are governed by secret tribunals unrecognized and unauthorized by law. The records of these tribunals have been discovered and are found to be antagonistic to our legal system.

These tribunals are formed by the several Chinese companies or guilds, and are recognized as legitimate authorities by the Chinese population. They levy taxes, command masses of men, intimidate interpreters and witnesses, enforce perjury, regulate trade, punish the refractory, remove witnesses beyond the reach of our Courts, control liberty of action, and prevent the return of Chinese to their homes in China without their consent. In short, they exercise a despotic sway over one-seventh of the population of the State of California.

They invoke the processes of law only to punish the independent action of their subjects; and it is claimed that they execute the death penalty upon those who refuse obedience to their decrees.

We are disposed to acquit these companies and secret tribunals of the charge of deliberate intent to supercede the authority of the

State. The system is inherent and part of the fibre of the Chinese mind, and exists because the Chinese are thoroughly and permanently alien to us in language and interests. It is nevertheless a fact that these companies or tribunals do nullify and supercede the State and National authorities.

Their government in the main may be just, but is subject to the terrible abuse which always belongs to irresponsible personal government. But whether just or unjust, the fact remains that they constitute a foreign government within the boundaries of the Republic.

That we have not overstated the facts, we beg to refer briefly to some of the testimony of reputable witnesses, given under the sanction of an oath, before this Committee.

James R. Rogers, a San Francisco officer of intelligence and experience, testifies as follows: (See volume of testimony herewith transmitted, p. 61.)

A.—I do not know of my own knowledge that such a tribunal exists (secret Chinese tribunal). I only know that when a Chinaman swears differently from what they want him to his life is in danger. They sometimes use our Courts to enforce their orders, just as policy may direct. They have no regard for our laws, and obey them, so far as they do, only through fear.

D. J. Murphy, District Attorney of the City and County of San Francisco, and one of the ablest and most experienced criminal lawyers in the State, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 82 and 83.)

Q.—In your official capacity, have you been brought into contact with Chinese?

A.—Yes, sir; I have looked on my docket for two years, and I find that of seven hundred cases that I examined before the Grand Jury one hundred and twenty were Chinese, principally burglaries, grand larcenies, and murders—chiefly burglary. They are very adroit and expert thieves. I have not had time to examine for the last two and a half years, but the proportion has largely increased during that time.

Q.—Do you find any difficulty in the administration of justice, where they are concerned?

A.—Yes, sir. In capital cases, particularly, we are met with perjury. I have no doubt but that they act under the direction of superiors, and swear as ordered. In many cases witnesses are spirited away, or alibis are proven. They can produce so many witnesses as to create a doubt in the minds of jurymen, and thus escape justice. In cases where I have four or five witnesses for the prosecution, they will bring in ten or fifteen on the part of the defense. They seem to think that numbers must succeed, and it very frequently so happens. It frequently occurs that before the Grand Jury, or on preliminary examination, witnesses swear so as to convict, but on the trial they turn square around and swear the other way. I have heard it said that they have secret tribunals where they settle all these things, but I know nothing of that. It is my impression that something of the kind exists, and I think they sometimes use our Courts to enforce their decrees. I have had to appeal to Executive clemency for pardon for Chinamen sent to the State Prison by false swearing, under circumstances which led me to believe them to have been the victims of some organization of that kind.

Q.—Innocent men can be convicted?

A.—Yes; and I have no doubt innocent men are convicted through the medium of perjury and "jobs" fixed up on them. I have had doubts, during the last three months, in cases of magnitude, involving long terms of imprisonment.

Q.—Among reputable lawyers of this city, who have had experience with Chinese testimony in the Courts, what value has that testimony, standing by itself?

A.—By itself, and without being corroborated by extrinsic facts or white testimony, it is very unreliable.

Mr. Ellis, Chief of Police of the City of San Francisco, and who had been attached to the police force of that city for twenty years, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 112.)

That it is generally believed that the Chinese have a Court where differences are settled; and that, if, in secret, it determines to convict or acquit a Chinaman (on trial before our Courts) that judgment is carried out. In a great many cases I believe they have convicted innocent men upon perjured evidence.



Ah Dan, the Chinese interpreter of one of the Sacramento Courts, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 121 and 122.)

Q.—Do you know District Attorney Jones?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Did you tell him last week that some of them threatened to kill you?

A.—Yes, sir; some of them. A man came to me a few days ago and told me they were going to kill a Police Court interpreter, advising me to leave the city, because he said somebody would come and kill me; some men had put up rewards, and some men whom I did not know were coming from San Francisco to kill me. I was before the Grand Jury and explained the game of "tan," and for this they put up the reward, and I am to be killed by three men from San Francisco I don't know. The reward offered for my life is five or six hundred dollars. I have heard of rewards of this kind being put up here and elsewhere. I have not seen any here, but have in San Francisco. They are in Chinese, and posted up, saying that these men will make agreement, if some man kill another, to pay the murderer so much money. These agreements for murder are red papers written in Chinese, and say they will give so much money on condition you kill so-and-so, naming the person. If the murderer is arrested, they will get good counsel to defend him. If he is sent to prison, they will pay him so much money to recompense him, and if he is hung they will send so much money to his relatives in China.

Q.—Did you go to officer Jackson and ask him not to subpoena you, if he could help it, in the Hung Hi case?

A.—Yes. I said to him, "I don't know about the case. If you put me on the stand, and it don't go as they want it, they will blame me."

Q.—Didn't you tell him you were afraid they would kill you?

A.—I did tell him so.

Q.—You were afraid?

A.—Yes, sir. I told Charley O'Neil some put up money to kill me. He told me not to fear—to keep a look out for myself. In case I testify here to all I know, I'm afraid they will kill me.

Mr. Charles T. Jones, who for several years past has been the able and efficient District Attorney of Sacramento County (the county in which is located our State Capital), testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 124 and 125.)

A.—During my term of office I have had considerable to do with Chinese criminals, and always have great difficulty in convicting them of any crime. I remember well the case of Ah Quong, spoken of a few moments ago by Ah Dan. At the time I was defending three parties charged with kidnaping, and I had Ah Quong as interpreter, knowing him to be honest and capable. The circumstances of the case were these: A Chinaman wanted to marry a woman then in a house of prostitution. She desired to marry him, and he went with two of his friends to the house. She went with them. They drove out of town to get married, when the Chinaman who owned her heard of it and started some officers after her. She was arrested and surrendered to these Chinamen, with instructions to bring her into Court next day. I had this man to interpret for me, being well satisfied that she would swear that she was not being kidnaped. The next day the owners brought into Court a woman whom the defendants informed me was not the one at all, but another. The attorneys for the other side insisted that it was, believing the statements of their Chinamen to that effect. The case was postponed for two or three days, when it was shown that the woman offered was not the one taken away. This interpreter told me they would kill him as sure as these defendants were not convicted. We went out of the Court-room, and he told me he was afraid to go on I street. I told him not to go then, but I did not think they would trouble him. Half an hour afterwards he was brought back, shot in the back, and a hatchet having been used on him, mutilating him terribly. This was in broad daylight, about eleven o'clock in the morning, on Third and I Streets, one of the most public places in the City of Sacramento. There were hundreds of Chinese around there at the time, but it was difficult, in the prosecution of the case, to get any Chinese testimony at all. It happened that there were a few white men passing at the time, and we were enabled to identify two men, and they were convicted and sent to the State Prison for life, after three trials. They attempted to prove an alibi, and after swearing a large lot of Chinamen they said they had twenty more. The Chinese use the Courts to gain possession of women. Sometimes it happens that where a man is married to a woman, they get out a warrant for his arrest, and before he can get bail they have stolen the woman and carried her off to some distant place. I have had Chinamen come to me to find out how many witnesses I had in cases. If they found out they would get sufficient testimony to override me. Before I was District Attorney I have had Chinese come to me to defend them, and ask me how many witnesses I wanted, and what was necessary to prove in order to acquit.

Q.—Do you often find that upon preliminary examinations and before the Grand Jury there

is enough testimony to warrant a conviction, but on the trial these same witnesses swear to an exactly opposite state of facts?

A.—Very frequently.

Q.—To what do you attribute that?

A.—I attribute that to the fact that they had tried the case in Chinese Courts, where it had been finally settled. I have records in my office of a Chinese tribunal of that kind, where they tried offenders according to their own rules, meted out what punishment they deemed proper, etc. These records were captured in a room on I Street, between Fourth and Fifth. I had them translated by an interpreter from San Francisco, and used them on the trial of the robbery cases. The records recite that the members enter into a solemn compact not to enter into partnership with a foreigner; that a certain man did so, and the company offers so many round dollars to the man who will kill him. They promise to furnish a man to assist the murderer, and they promise, if he is arrested, they will employ able counsel to defend him. If convicted, he should receive, I think, three dollars for every day he would be confined, and in case he died, certain money would be sent to his relatives. These records appeared in evidence and were admitted; also, a poster that was taken from a house, offering a reward for the killing of this man. This poster was placed on a house in a public street. Being written in Chinese, of course they alone knew its contents, and informed us of them.

Mat. Karcher, for many years past Chief of Police for the City of Sacramento, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 128 and 129.)

Q.—Do you know anything about their putting up offers of rewards upon walls and street corners, written in Chinese, for the murder or assassination of given Chinamen?

A.—Yes. Of course I could not read Chinese, but I secured some of these posters, and had an interpreter from San Francisco come up here and interpret them. They were rewards for the murder of some Chinamen who did something contrary to their laws. They have their own tribunals where they try Chinamen, and their own laws to govern them. In this way the administration of justice is often defeated entirely, or, at least, to a very great extent. I know this, because I was present at a meeting of one of their tribunals about seven years ago. There was some thirty or forty Chinamen there, one appearing to act as Judge. Finally, the fellow on trial was convicted and had to pay so much money, as a fine for the commission of the offense with which he was charged. Generally, their punishments are in the nature of fines; but sometimes they sentence the defendant to death. In cases in the Police Court we have often found it difficult to make interpreters act. They would tell us that they would be killed if they spoke the truth; that their tribunals would sentence them to death, and pay assassins to dispatch them. About two years and a half or three years ago Ah Quong was killed. During the trial, at which he was interpreter, there were a great many Chinamen. I stationed officers at the doors, and then caused each one to be searched as he came out of the room, the interpreter having told me that he feared they would murder him. Upon these Chinamen I found all sorts of weapons—hatchets, pistols, bowie-knives, Chinese swords, and many others. There were forty-five weapons in all, I think, concealed about their persons in all kinds of ways. The interpreter testified in that case, and half an hour after leaving the Court-room he was brought back, shot, and cut with hatchets. He was terribly mutilated, and lived only a few moments after being brought to the station-house. The murderers were arrested, but attempted to prove an alibi, and had a host of Chinese witnesses present for that purpose. Although there were some hundreds of Chinese present at the time of the murder, the prosecution was forced to rely upon the evidence of a few white men who chanced to see the deed committed. We were opposed at every turn by the Chinamen and the Chinese companies. As a general thing it is utterly impossible to enforce the laws with any certainty against those people, while they will themselves use our laws to persecute innocent men who have gained their enmity. They seem to have no ideas concerning the moral obligation of an oath, and care not for our form of swearing.

Lem Schaum, a Christian Chinaman, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 139.)

Q.—Do you know anything about notices of rewards being posted up in Chinese quarters in San Francisco or here, for the punishment of certain men—a notice of this kind: Five hundred dollars or six hundred dollars will be given for the assassination or murder of some Chinaman.

A.—I do. That is a Chinese custom. When members of a company do anything against the rules of that company they are punished. Suppose one member of a company comes to me and says: "Go and steal a woman from a Chinaman," and I do so for him. Because I favor him, his enemies prove I stole the woman, and put up a reward of five hundred or one thousand dollars to have me killed. That is the way they do.

Q.—Do they post those rewards up publicly?

A.—I think not; I think they do that in secret.

Q.—Has it been your experience that those secret judgments are carried into execution?

A.— \* \* \* Every time.



Q.—Almost every time a judgment is entered that a man shall die, and they offer so much money to have him killed, the man is killed?

A.—Exactly.

Q.—They take every advantage?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—That is regarded as a death sentence?

A.—Yes, sir. The man knows he has to die, but gets out of the way if he can.

Q.—That makes it difficult for any Chinamen, if they are disposed, to protect women?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—If a Chinaman takes a woman to the mission, that sort of a reward will be offered?

A.—Yes, sir; most likely.

Q.—Do you know of their custom of settling cases that get into the Courts? For instance, a Chinaman is arrested for kidnaping one of these women. Do you know anything about their settling that among themselves and keeping the testimony away from the Courts?

A.—I believe they do that.

Q.—They have some sort of a tribunal in which they settle this thing for themselves?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Have they a tribunal which punishes for offenses against their customs?

A.—Yes, sir. For instance, suppose I should march myself out and kill a Chinaman. I am brought before the company and made to pay a fine. They take the money and send it back to the family of the killed party to support his mother.

Q.—If you kill a member of the See-yup Company, the See-yup Company will determine, through this tribunal, that you shall pay so much money?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Suppose you pay that money?

A.—Then I will be all right.

Q.—They would not try to punish you by law?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Suppose you refuse to pay the money?

A.—I must go through the American Courts.

Mr. Ellis, Chief of Police for San Francisco, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 112.)

Q.—What are the difficulties in the way of enforcing laws in cases where the Chinese are concerned?

A.—The Chinese will swear to anything, according to orders. Their testimony is so unreliable that they cannot be believed.

Q.—What is the greatest difficulty in the way of suppressing prostitution and gambling?

A.—To suppress these vices would require a police force so great that the city could not stand the expense. It is difficult to administer justice, because we do not understand their language, and thus all combine to defeat the laws.

Q.—What is their custom of settling cases among themselves, and then refusing to furnish testimony?

A.—It is generally believed to be true that the Chinese have a Court of arbitration where they settle differences.

Q.—After this settlement is made, is it possible to obtain testimony from the Chinese?

A.—If in secret they determine to convict a Chinaman, or to acquit him, that judgment is carried out. In a great many cases I believe they have convicted innocent men through perjured evidence.

Mr. Davis Louderback, for several years past Judge of the Police Court of San Francisco, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 93.)

Q.—What do you know about the habits, customs, and social and moral status of the Chinese population of this city?

A.—I think they are a very immoral, mean, mendacious, dishonest, thieving people, as a general thing.

Q.—What are the difficulties in the way of the administration of justice where they are concerned?

A.—As witnesses, their veracity is of the lowest degree. They do not appear to realize the sanctity of an oath, and it is difficult to enforce the laws, where they are concerned, for that reason. They are very apt, in all cases and under all circumstances, to resort to perjury and the subornation of perjury. They also use our criminal law to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and malicious prosecutions are frequent.

Mr. Charles Wolcott Brooks, for sixteen years Japanese Consul in San Francisco, and one of the attachés of the Japanese Embassy to the Great Powers, testifies (Evidence, p. 37) that one of the great

difficulties about this immigration "is the organization of a foreign hostile force within the territory of the United States. It is a very difficult thing, however, to tell how you are going to administer justice when Chinese tribunals of that kind exist. It is practically impossible. The Chinese are very deceitful, and that very deceit is an indication of a weaker race. A weak man makes up in lying what he lacks in strength. They feel that weakness, and they conceal it by strategy and deceit."

And, again: (Evidence, p. 38.)

The Chinese are bad for us, because they do not assimilate and cannot assimilate with our people. They are a race that cannot mix with other races, and we don't wish them to. The Chinese are bad for us, because they come here without their families. Families are the centers of all that is elevating in mankind, yet here we have a very large Chinese male population. The Chinese females that are here make this element more dangerous still.

And, again: (Evidence, pp. 42 and 43.)

Q.—Do you think that they (the Chinese) have any particular love for our institutions?

A.—I don't think they have any at all. They come purely as a matter of gain—as a matter of dollars and cents. If it is profitable, they will come. If it is not profitable, they will not come. The very fact of their retaining their own dress and customs, and keeping themselves so entirely separate, as a people, shows that they have not. Contrast them with the Japanese. The Japanese who go abroad are persons who have money to spend, and they go for pleasure and information. They adopt the manners and customs of Americans. Our dress and our language they seek. The Chinese come abroad, not to spend, but to accumulate. They maintain their own customs and language. The Japanese like our institutions. The Chinese do not, but hate us most cordially, and hate the Japanese more than any other people—a hate which is as cordially returned by the Japanese. There is nothing in common between them. In eighteen hundred and forty-two, the population of China was four hundred and thirteen million two hundred and sixty-seven thousand and thirty. That is the latest census that I have any account of.

Q.—Japan is a young, growing country?

A.—Yes, sir. Compared with China, it is like comparing a young, growing nation with an old, dying one. It is generally supposed that they are the same race; but this is not so. They are of absolutely different origin, and there is no sympathy, no similarity between them. They are an enterprising people. I think that the Japanese are of Turkish blood; of the same race as the Turks or Arabians.

#### HUMAN SLAVERY.

The Chinese have, through certain guilds or companies, established a peculiar, but revolting, kind of slavery upon the Pacific Coast. Hundreds of Chinese women are bought and sold at prices ranging from three to eight hundred dollars. These women are compelled to live as prostitutes for the pecuniary profit of their owners; they are under constant and unceasing surveillance; they are cruelly beaten if they fail to make money for their owners; and they are left to starve and die uncared for when they become sick or unprofitable. The great majority of these slaves do not know that they have rights, though they would be glad to escape if they could. Sometimes they wish to marry and escape with their chosen husband, but they are speedily kidnaped and returned to their owners.

Sometimes their owners invoke the aid of our Courts, arrest the Chinese who seek to marry these women, upon some criminal charge, and keep them in prison until they obtain possession of the women, when the prosecution is suffered to go by default. Warrants are easily procured for these purposes, because our officers are ignorant of the Chinese language, and because of the extraordinary cunning of the Chinamen who control this business. And thus these women are held in slavery for life without hope of relief.

We do not charge the better classes of the Chinese, or the six companies, with complicity in this crime, and we are confident that they desire the suppression of this evil. It is evident, therefore, that this form of slavery is sustained by an organization which is all-powerful as against the six companies, and the municipal and State governments of California.

The Rev. Otis Gibson, a clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, formerly a missionary to China, and now at the head of the Chinese Mission of that church in the City of San Francisco, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 33.)

The women as a general thing are held as slaves (referring to the Chinese women in this State). They are bought or stolen in China and brought here. They have a sort of agreement, to cover up the slavery business, but it is all a sham. That paper makes the girl say that she owes you four hundred dollars or so, passage money and outfit from China, and has nothing to pay. I being the girl, this man comes up and offers to lend me the money to pay you if I will agree to serve him, to prostitute my body at his pleasure, wherever he shall put me, for four, five, or six years. For that promise of mine, made on the paper, he hands him the four hundred dollars, and I pay the debt I owe you according to contract. It is also put in the contract that if I am sick fifteen days no account shall be taken of that, but if I am sick more than that I shall make up double. If I am found to be pregnant within a month, you shall return the money and take me again. If I prove to have epilepsy, leprosy, or am a stone woman, the same thing is done.

Q.—Are these contracts regarded as moral among the people who make them?

A.—Well, there is a certain class of knaves among Chinamen who have no morals at all.

Q.—These contracts are sustained by the great mass of Chinamen here, are they not?

A.—I think there is in existence now—there has been—a company of men engaged in this traffic of women; not the six companies, but a guild like the Washing Company. They have their rules and their regulations, and they stand by each other. One of those companies is called the Hip-ye-tong. When a Chinaman runs away with a woman from one of these brothels and marries her, he is followed by these companies, and asked to pay them her value, or look out for the consequences. It is a common thing for them to use the processes of our Courts to protect their interests—their assumed rights. If a woman escapes from a brothel, she is arrested for some crime, and possession is obtained in that way. Where she marries, the chances are that both man and woman will be arrested, or the man will be arrested and the woman run off to some other place. Sometimes Chinese come to me to get married. I don't care to marry them, and, to discourage it, have set my price at ten dollars, whereas the Justices' fees are only two dollars. They seem to have a sort of indefinite and unreasonable idea of protection when they come to me.

Q.—You used the term "stone woman." What do you understand by that?

A.—I did not know, and asked them. They said it was a woman so naturally disabled, that a man could not have any intercourse with her.

Q.—Then, so far as the women are concerned, they are in slavery, with more hard features than have been known to white races?

A.—Yes, sir. And even after the term of prostitution service is up, the owners so manage as to have the women in debt more than ever, so that their slavery becomes life-long. There is no release from it.

Q.—When these people become sick and helpless, what becomes of them?

A.—They are left to die.

Q.—No care taken of them?

A.—Sometimes, where the women have friends.

Q.—Don't the companies take care of them?

A.—Not frequently.

Q.—Is it not a frequent thing that they are put out on the sidewalk to die, or in some room without water or food?

A.—I have heard of such things. I don't know. I don't think they are kind; I think they are very unkind to the sick. Sometimes the women take opium to kill themselves. They do not know they have any rights, but think they must keep their contracts, and believe themselves under obligations to serve in prostitution.

Q.—What is their treatment? Is it harsh?

A.—They have come to the asylum all bruises. They are beaten and punished cruelly if they fail to make money. When they become worn out and unable to make any more money, they are turned out to die.

The Rev. A. W. Loomis, a Presbyterian clergyman at the head of the Chinese Mission established by his church in San Francisco, says: (Evidence, pp. 55 and 56.)



These Chinawomen that you see on the streets here were brought for the accommodation of white people, not for the accommodation of Chinese; and if you pass along the streets where they are to be found, you will see that they are visited not so much by Chinese as by others—sailors and low people. The women are in a condition of servitude. Some of them are inveigled away from home under promise of marriage to men here, and some to be secondary wives, while some are stolen. They are sold here. Many women are taken from the Chinese owners and are living as wives and secondary wives. Some have children, and these children are legitimate.

Q.—These women engaged in prostitution are nothing more than slaves to them?

A.—Yes, sir; and every one would go home to-day if she were free and had her passage paid.

Q.—They are not allowed to release themselves from that situation, are they?

A.—I think they are under the surveillance of men and women, so that they cannot get away. They would fear being caught and sold again, and carried off to a condition even worse than now.

Q.—Are not the laws here used to restrain them from getting away—are they not arrested for crime?

A.—Oh, yes. They will trump up a case, have the woman arrested, and bring people to swear what they want. In this way they manage to get possession of her again.

Q.—Have they at any time interfered with the women brought to your mission?

A.—We have not at our mission, but I think Mr. Gibson has had interference from them.

Q.—Do you know what they do with the women when they become sick and useless?

A.—I do not know. I have seen some on the street that looked in bad condition, and I have heard of their being abandoned to die, but I have never seen any case of that kind.

Q.—Do you know how they treat these people?

A.—I understand they treat them very badly. Women have come to the Home with bruises and marks of violence on their persons. I think their condition is a very hard one.

Q.—Then it is a slavery which, from the very first, destroys body, soul, and everything else?

A.—Yes, sir; and the women would be glad to escape from it if they knew they would be protected.

Mr. Alfred Clark, for nineteen years past connected with the police force of San Francisco, and for the last eight years Clerk of the Chief of Police, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 63.)

In regard to the vice of prostitution, I have here a bill of sale of a Chinawoman, and a translation of the same.

Witness submits a paper written in Chinese characters, and reads the translation, as follows:

An agreement to assist the woman Ah Ho, because coming from China to San Francisco she became indebted to her mistress for passage. Ah Ho herself asks Mr. Yee Kwan to advance for her six hundred and thirty dollars, for which Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yee for service of prostitution for a term of four years. There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho shall receive no wages. At the expiration of four years Ah Ho shall be her own master. Mr. Yee Kwan shall not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before her time is out, her mistress shall find her and return her, and whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her, Ah Ho shall pay. On this day of agreement Ah Ho, with her own hands, has received from Mr. Yee Kwan six hundred and thirty dollars. If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten days, she shall make up by an extra month of service for every ten days' sickness. Now this agreement has proof—this paper received by Ah Ho is witness.

TUNG CHEE.

Twelfth year, ninth month, and fourteenth day (about middle of October, eighteen hundred and seventy-three).

The Chinese women are kept in confinement more by fear than by anything else. They believe the contracts to be good and binding, and fear the consequences of any attempt at escape.

Mr. Clark was recalled, and testified as follows: (Evidence, p. 69.)

Q.—Suppose a Chinawoman escapes, what do the owners do?

A.—Follow her and take her back. If they fail, they generally have her arrested for larceny, and get possession in that way. They use the processes of our Courts to keep these women in a state of slavery. They do not let them get out of their clutches, however, if they can help it, for they know that there is no legal way of reclaiming them. When they become sick and helpless, there are instances where they have been turned out to die. The bones of women are not returned to China, as are the bones of the men. The six companies do not control this woman business; it is under the management of an independent company, called the Hip-ye-tong. Whether they import the women or not, I don't know, but they look after affairs here. A Chinaman married a woman at Gibson's, and after the marriage received notice that he must pay for the woman or be dealt with according to the Chinese custom. He was made to believe

that he would suffer personally if he did not comply with their demands. Acting upon information, we arrested a number of them, and got some of their books, which we had translated. On the rolls, I think there were one hundred and seventy women. Seven or eight Chinamen were arrested, but all the witnesses we could get for the prosecution did not exceed three or four, and no conviction was had.

He also produced other "bills of sale" similar to the one above quoted, which had been taken by the police.

Mr. Andrew McKenzie, a local officer, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 89.)

Q.—How are Chinese women held here?

A.—I think Mr. Rogers can inform you on that point better than I can. He was employed by the Chinese up at the barricoon. \* \* \*

Q.—What do you mean by barricoon?

A.—A place where women coming from the ships are placed. It is underneath the joss-house or the old theatre fronting on St. Louis Alley, and running to Dupont Street. They are kept there until apportioned out.

Q.—Is it not a notorious fact that these Chinese prostitutes are held as slaves, subject to the pleasure of their owners?

A.—Yes, sir.

Wong Ben, a Chinaman in the service of the San Francisco police force, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 100.)

Q.—Who bring the Chinese women here?

A.—Wong Fook Soi, Bi Chee, An Geo, and Wong Woon.

Q.—What do these men do?

A.—They keep gambling-houses and houses of prostitution.

Q.—To what company do these men belong?

A.—An Geo belongs to the See-yup Company; Wong Woon to the Sam-yup Company. That fellow has got lots of money. He buys women in China for two hundred dollars or three hundred dollars, and brings them out here and sells them for eight hundred or nine hundred dollars, to be prostitutes.

Q.—How do they get those women in China?

A.—In Tartary. They are "big feet" women, and are sometimes bought for ninety dollars. When they bring them out here they sell them for nine hundred dollars.

Q.—What do they do with them?

A.—They make them be prostitutes. If they don't want to be prostitutes they make them be.

Q.—Can they get away?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—What do they do with them when they get sick and cannot work any longer?

A.—They don't treat them well at all. They don't take as much care of them, whether they are sick or well, as white people do a dog. Chinawomen in China are treated first rate, but in California these "big feet" women are treated worse than dogs.

Mr. Bovee testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 108.)

Q.—Are these prostitutes bought and sold and held in bondage?

A.—Yes; that has always been my idea.

Q.—How do they treat their sick and helpless?

A.—I have seen them thrown out on the street and on the sidewalk, and I have seen them put into little rooms without light, bedding, or food. They were left to die.

Q.—What opportunities have these women to escape, if they should desire?

A.—I don't see that they have any at all, for where a woman escapes a reward is offered and she is brought back. Where they can get her in no other way they use our Courts.

Charles P. O'Neil, an officer of the Sacramento police force, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 115.)

Q.—Do you know how these women are held—whether they are owned by anybody, or whether anybody claims to own them?

A.—Only from hearsay. I have heard them (the Chinamen) frequently say that they bought them. On one occasion I was called into a Chinese house, and there saw four hundred and fifty dollars pass between a woman and a man. They wanted me to be a witness to the fact, and I witnessed it. Some time afterwards the woman told me that her boss had sold her



for four hundred and fifty dollars. That was the contract I witnessed, but it being in Chinese I did not understand it at the time. The woman soon after committed suicide. She did not like this man to whom she had been sold, and committed suicide by drowning. From my experience as an officer, I know that these women are kept under close surveillance.

Q.—Is it possible for them to escape, or is there any reasonable probability that any of them could escape from that servitude?

A.—No; not without they are protected by the white people. I have known them to attempt to escape, and have known them to have been sent for and brought back. To do this they use different means, principally money. They use, also, the machinery of the American Courts to enforce these contracts, it being customary to have these women arrested for larceny or some crime, in order to get the more secure possession of them. In the prevention of this thing the principal difficulty lies in the fact that we don't understand their language. We do not know what they are getting at, and they will tell such well concocted stories that it is almost impossible to get at the truth as we can with white persons. A Chinaman has a right to go before a magistrate and make out that a crime has been committed by a person, and a magistrate, having no means of ascertaining the truth, must issue his warrant.

This officer also testifies that these women are kept closely confined, and are often beaten; that when one of them became sick or helpless they are turned out to die.

Mat. Karcher, for many years Chief of Police for Sacramento City, testifies: (Evidence, p. 131.)

Q.—Do you know what they do with their sick when they become helpless and unable to make more money?

A.—Put them in some out-house, or on the sidewalk, to die.

Q.—Without food or bedding?

A.—Generally. I have found men and women, both, in that condition. I have found them by accident, while hunting for other things—stolen goods, criminals, etc.

Q.—You found women without food or drink, and without covering?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And death would have come from disease or starvation, or both?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Is that the common way of disposing of these women when they become useless?

A.—Yes, sir, if not the only way.

Q.—They are less cared for than are useless domestic animals by the white race?

A.—A great deal less.

And, again, Mr. Karcher testifies: (Evidence, p. 128.)

A.—Where one is young and good looking, and makes plenty of money, she is well treated. Those who are unable to make much are treated very badly.

Q.—How young are the youngest that you know of as being held?

A.—I have seen them as young as fifteen years.

Q.—What chance have they to escape from this life, if they desire?

A.—They have very little chance.

Q.—Why is that?

A.—Because the Chinese will swear to almost anything, and if one is taken away by another she is simply run off to another locality to be sold into slavery again. Sometimes the farce of marrying is gone through with in order to get the woman, who may be beyond their reach. As soon as the newly-made husband gets possession of his bride, he turns her over to her former owners.

Q.—Do you know of cases where they have had Chinamen arrested and convicted of crime simply because they have interfered with them?

A.—Yes, sir. The arresting officer and the District Attorney have to be very careful lest they be made the instruments of sending innocent men to State Prison.

Mr. Duffield, an officer of the San Francisco police force, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 80.)

Q.—How many families are there among the Chinese?

A.—Very few. I have never seen a decent, respectable Chinawoman in my life.

Q.—What is the understanding here in regard to the manner in which these women are held?

A.—They are held in bondage, bought and sold. I have had bills of sale translated by Gibson.

Q.—Is it possible for these women to escape from that life, even if they desire it?

A.—Sometimes the Chief of Police can give some protection, but it is customary for the owners to charge them with crimes in order to get possession of them again. Sometimes they kidnap them, and even unscrupulous white men have been found to assist them.

Q.—Do you know what they do with them when they become sick and helpless?

A.—They put them out on the street to die. I have had charge of the dead myself, on the street. I have seen sick and helpless women turned out in that way.

Lem Schaum, an intelligent Chinaman, a convert to Christianity, educated by Mr. Rowle and the Revs. Drs. Moore and Gamble, of Oakland, in this State, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 136 and 137.)

Q.—Do you know how these bad women are brought here?

A.—They are stolen and bought in China, and brought here the same as we buy and sell stock.

Q.—Their condition is a very horrible one, then?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you know how they are treated?

A.—Yes, sir. The parties who own them generally treat them pretty roughly. If they don't go ahead and make money the owners will give them a good thrashing.

Q.—Is it not very common, when those women try to get away, for the people who own them to have them arrested for larceny, and things of that kind?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—They are held by fear of punishment if they try to escape?

A.—Exactly.

Q.—There are cases where Chinamen have cut them all to pieces with knives for running away, are there not?

A.—I never have seen any, but this is what I have heard.

Q.—They torture them?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do they buy and sell these women here?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And hold them in slavery?

A.—Exactly.

Mr. Oliver Jackson, a Sacramento police officer, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 143.)

Q.—Do you know how these Chinese prostitutes are held—whether in slavery or not?

A.—I think they are all held in slavery. They are all bought and sold the same as horses and cows, bringing prices according to age and beauty.

Q.—Do you know how they are treated?

A.—As slaves, and punished as the owners may choose.

Q.—What sort of punishments are inflicted?

A.—I do not know, only from hearsay.

Q.—What chance have these women to escape if they should so desire?

A.—Very little chance. Where they do get away they are generally caught and brought back to the owners again.

Q.—Do they resort to the processes of our Courts in order to recover women who have escaped?

A.—Yes, sir; in a great many cases to my knowledge. They will swear out a warrant for her arrest for grand larceny or some felony. Sometimes it is sworn out against the man who has her, and sometimes against both. As soon as they get possession of the woman, they trifle with the cases until they fall through. It is almost impossible for a woman to escape.

Q.—Do you know what is done with these women when they become sick, helpless and incurably diseased?

A.—Where they see that they will be of no further use to make money, they turn them out on the sidewalk to die. I have seen men and women also turned out to die in this manner. I have found dead men while searching for stolen property, and have had the Coroner attend to them.

#### CHINESE PROSTITUTION.

We now come to an aspect of the question more revolting still. We would shrink from the disgusting details did not a sense of duty demand that they be presented. Their lewd women induce, by the cheapness of their offers, thousands of boys and young men to enter their dens, very many of whom are innoculated with venereal diseases of the worst type. Boys of eight and ten years of age have been

found with this disease, and some of our physicians treat a half dozen cases daily. The fact that these diseases have their origin chiefly among the Chinese is well established.

The Hon. W. J. Shaw, a distinguished citizen of this State, whose opportunities for investigation have been ample, declares (Evidence, p. 16): "That prostitution in China is not regarded as a disgrace, but is regarded as a profession or calling. That the condition of the lower classes is as near that of brutes as can be found in any human society." Indeed, the Chinese appear to have very little appreciation of the weaker sex. Says Mr. Shaw (Evidence, p. 16): "It is no rare occurrence when a girl is born to place it on the street and abandon it to its fate." And, again, (Evidence, p. 19): "The women in China occupy the same position as in most parts of Asia—virtually slaves; mere creatures, to pander to the wishes of the males, and promote their happiness." And Mr. Charles Wolcott Brooks, who, from his position, opportunities and ability, is high authority upon this topic, observes (Evidence, p. 42): "That the population of China has been decreasing lately, caused, in a great measure, by the scarcity of women. They drown their females as we drown kittens."

Dr. H. H. Toland, a man standing at the head of his profession, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 103 and 104.)

"I have practiced medicine in this State twenty-three years."

Q.—And during that time have you had one of the leading positions, from a medical point of view, in this city?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—You are the founder of the "Toland Medical University?"

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—A member of the San Francisco Board of Health?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Of what institution were you a graduate?

A.—Transylvania University, Kentucky, in eighteen hundred and thirty-two—one of the first Western universities that was established at Lexington, Kentucky.

Q.—It has been stated that these Chinese houses of prostitution are open to small boys, and that a great many have been diseased. Do you know anything about that?

A.—I know that is so. I have seen boys eight and ten years old with diseases they told me they contracted on Jackson Street. It is astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion. Some of the worst cases of syphilis I have ever seen in my life occur in children not more than ten or twelve years old. They generally try to conceal their condition from their parents. They come to me and I help screen it from their parents, and cure them without compensation. Sometimes parents, unaware of what is the matter, bring their boys to me, and I do all I can to keep the truth from them.

Q.—Are these cases of frequent occurrence?

A.—Yes, sir. You will find children from twelve to fifteen that are often diseased. In consequence of neglect, they finally become the worst cases we have to treat.

Q.—What effect will that have upon the health of the community, in the end?

A.—It must have a bad effect, because a great many of these children get secondary syphilis, and it runs until it becomes almost incurable. Under the most favorable circumstances it takes a long time to eradicate it, but when it becomes constitutional, it is an exceedingly difficult thing to cure it. When they come to me for treatment, they sometimes have secondary syphilis; sometimes chancre; sometimes a tertiary form. Under most favorable circumstances it takes two or three years to eradicate syphilis.

Q.—Unless you have complete control of the patient for that time, is it not certain that the seeds of the disease remain in the system through life?

A.—It destroys life. I can show a dozen cases in the County Hospital, where, if they recover, it will be after a long course of treatment, and some of them will not recover at all. The whole system becomes poisoned and debilitated. They are so diseased, and the system is so exhausted, perhaps by a big sore, or something of that sort, that they cannot be cured.

Q.—When syphilis assumes a secondary and tertiary form, what effect will it have upon the children of such persons?

A.—The disease is hereditary, and will be transmitted to the children. I have positive evidence of that in a family that I have been treating, where the children are diseased. The father had the disease when he married a healthy woman, and of three children born every one exhibited symptoms of syphilis.



Q.—From your observation what would you say as to the effect it must have upon this community if these Chinese prostitutes are allowed to remain in the country?

A.—It will fill our hospitals with invalids, and I think it would be a very great relief to the younger portion of the community to get rid of them.

Q.—Judge Hager says, when he was in the United States Senate, and endeavored to take some steps to prevent immigration of this people, he was met by the proposition that their coming to this country tended to advance Christian civilization, and the humanitarians of the East would not aid him for that reason. What is your opinion?

A.—It does not tend to the advancement of Christian civilization, but it has the contrary effect. There is scarcely a single day that there are not a dozen young men come to my office with syphilis or gonorrhœa. A great many of them have not means to be treated properly and the disease runs on until it becomes constitutional; and in nine cases out of ten it is the ruin of them. I have treated a great many boys, and I have treated the parents. Sometimes the parents would come, and after going through a course of treatment would bring their children.

Mr. Pierson—To what extent do these diseases come from Chinese prostitutes?

A.—I suppose nine-tenths. When these persons come to me I ask them where they got the disease, and they generally tell me that they have been with Chinawomen. They think diseases contracted from Chinawomen are harder to cure than those contracted elsewhere, so they tell me as a matter of self-protection. I am satisfied, from my experience, that nearly all the boys in town, who have venereal disease, contracted it in Chinatown. They have no difficulty there, for the prices are so low that they can go whenever they please. The women do not care how old the boys are, whether five years old or more, as long as they have money.

Q.—Then the maintenance of this population in our midst, instead of advancing civilization, would seem to be a crime against it?

A.—That is my opinion.

Mr. Donovan—Have you ever read or heard of any country in the world where there were so many children diseased as there are in San Francisco?

A.—No, sir. I lived in a town of one hundred and fifty or two hundred students, and we had not many public houses, but the students were not near so diseased, in proportion to their number, as are the boys here in this city.

Mr. Haymond—Can you approximate the number of boys affected here during any given year?

A.—I cannot tell exactly, because my attention has not been particularly directed to it; but I treat half a dozen every day in the year of three hundred and sixty-five days.

Q.—Is not that a fearful condition of things?

A.—It is most frightful. Generally they are improperly treated, and the syphilis or gonorrhœa runs on from week to week until stricture results, and that is almost as bad as constitutional syphilis, because it requires a long time to cure it.

Mr. Gibbs, Chairman of the Committee on San Francisco Hospitals, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 88.)

There are many cases of young men in the hospital suffering from syphilis contracted in the Chinese quarter.

Mr. David C. Woods testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 113.)

Mr. Haymond—How long have you resided in this State?

A.—Twenty-five years, off and on.

Q.—What position do you hold?

A.—Superintendent of the Industrial School.

Q.—How long have you occupied that position?

A.—Two years and three months.

Q.—Do you know anything about the effect the presence of a large Chinese population has upon the boys that are growing up here?

A.—I think it has a very bad effect. I find that the larger proportion of boys who come to the school, large enough to cohabit with women, are afflicted with venereal diseases.

Q.—How many boys are usually in that school?

A.—One hundred and eighty, on an average.

Q.—What proportion do you think are affected with that disease?

A.—I think that, during the time I have been there, fifty have come with venereal diseases.

Q.—Do you attribute that to the presence of Chinese prostitutes in this city?

A.—They tell me so themselves. I question them, and they say they got it in Chinatown?

Q.—What are the ages of those boys?

A.—We have had them as young as thirteen, with gonorrhœa; they have all sorts of venereal diseases. There is no time that I have had less than two or four down with them.

Mr. Karcher testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 131.)

Q.—Would boys be liable to visit the houses of white prostitutes?

A.—They would not be so liable.

Q.—Why is that?

A.—The prices are higher, and boys of that age will not take the liberties with white women that they do in Chinatown. In addition to that, it can be said on behalf of the white women that they would not allow boys of ten, eleven, or fourteen years of age to enter their houses. No such cases have ever been reported to the police, while the instances where Chinese women have enticed these youths are very frequent. Some three years ago two boys, one thirteen and the other fifteen, were taken from a Chinese house of prostitution and brought to the station-house. One belonged here and the other to San Francisco. I met the San Francisco boy about a month afterwards, and found him suffering from a loathsome disease, which he said he contracted in that house.

Dr. Shorb, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and a member of the Board of Health of the City of San Francisco, fully corroborates the testimony of Dr. Toland. All physicians agree that the result must be a marked increase of disease in the generation to come.

The people of California are thus compelled to endure a form of slavery more obnoxious than any hitherto known in the history of the world, and we are more helpless in this connection than the Colonies of England which are allowed to govern their internal affairs without interference from the home government.

#### CRIMINAL CLASSES.

The Pacific Coast has become a Botany Bay to which the criminal classes of China are brought in large numbers, and the people of this coast are compelled to endure this affliction. We do not claim that all the Chinese belong to the criminal classes, for many well-behaved people are found among them. There are various grades of character among these people: The merchants and business men, who are often worthy of high esteem; the cooks and house-servants, who are often bright and trustworthy; a class of laborers who are diligent, a class of laborers who are extremely dishonest, and a large number of professional thieves and fighters.

We are confident that the criminal class outnumber the others in the proportion of seven to one. These criminal classes entail upon our city, county, and State governments an expense that we are not able to bear—indeed, an adequate effort to meet the necessities of the situation would bankrupt our treasuries. Our police force, our constabulary, and the machinery of our judicial system, are overwhelmed by the pressure of these necessities without ascertainable advantage to our people.

An additional and very heavy expense is imposed upon our people by the care of their sick, who are invariably cast into the streets and abandoned by their companions. A further expense is laid upon our people by their refusal to conform to our fire ordinances; indeed, our cities and villages are in constant danger of extensive conflagrations by reason of their mode of living.

And while these people entail upon us these heavy expenses they evade the payment of taxes to an extent not tolerated in any other country. They contribute nothing to the support of our hospitals, and the cost of maintaining the Chinese in our State Prison is in excess of the whole amount of property taxes paid by the Chinese population. And yet we have no means of knowing whether these convicts in our prisons are justly imprisoned or the victims of the malice of their own countrymen.



We claim that these facts, proved by the evidence of good men, show a condition of affairs which threaten, in time, to undermine the foundations of the Republic within the scope of country now occupied by the Chinese.

Upon the topics last referred to, we may be pardoned if we call the attention of Congress to some of the evidence taken before this committee.

Mr. F. F. Low, a distinguished citizen who has held many positions of honor and trust under the State and Federal Government, among which have been that of Governor of California, Representative in Congress, and Minister to China, says: (Evidence, p. 5.)

That the immigration comes, with but slight exceptions, from the single Province of Canton, and that it is of the lowest class.

The Rev. Otis Gibson (Evidence, p. 27,) testifies as follows:

Q.—From what class is our Chinese immigration?

A.—From the lowest class.

Q.—By that you mean laborers.

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you mean, degraded in a moral sense?

A.—I think they are the lowest class of people. Most of the Chinese who come to this country are ignorant—very. I do not think there is one in five that can read a page of a book, and not one in ten that can read a small tract, or book, or newspaper through intelligently. Nearly all of them can read the signs over the stores; nearly all can do that much reading, but to take a book and read it they cannot do it.

Mr. W. J. Shaw says: (Evidence, p. 19.)

Regarding their honesty, I can mention this fact, which may interest the committee: I was assured by all the merchants with whom I conversed on the subject in the towns that I visited in China, where there are foreign merchants residing, that nobody hired a Chinese servant without taking a bond from some responsible person that he would be responsible for any thefts that servant might perpetrate. It was considered there, among those with whom I conversed on the subject, that Chinamen are so constituted that they must sooner or later steal something. It is their nature. Consequently they are not trusted in any house until they bring their bondsmen. When thefts are committed, and they are not of rare occurrence, the bondsmen pay for the things stolen. As far as I know and heard, no one thought of hiring a servant without taking a bond to meet any deficiency caused by theft.

Mr. Altemeyer, an old resident of San Francisco, and a member of the firm of Einstein Brothers & Co., boot and shoe manufacturers, a firm that at one time employed from three to five hundred Chinamen, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 50.)

Q.—Have you any contract for recompense for anything they steal?

A.—Yes, sir. It is to the effect that in case a man is dishonest, or steals anything, the agent shall be responsible.

Q.—Have you found them dishonest?

A.—I have, in several instances.

Q.—Are they honest or dishonest, as a rule?

A.—They will bear close watching. I think they will take things whenever they can get a chance.

Q.—Has not your company compelled the Chinese company to make up losses amounting to four thousand dollars or five thousand dollars, from your Hayes Street establishment?

A.—Yes, sir; we made the contractors pay for all the goods we did not find. I think we made them pay one thousand dollars. They found a good many of the goods themselves and returned them to us. The goods were found in the boarding and lodging-houses.

Q.—From what you know about Chinamen would you, under any circumstances, be willing to trust them without watching?

A.—No, sir.

Captain R. H. Joy, of Liverpool, and master of the British steamer *Crocus*, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 76, 77, and 78.)

- Q.—When did you arrive in California?  
 A.—Two days ago. I came here in command of the British steamer *Crocus*.  
 Q.—Did you bring any Chinese passengers?  
 A.—Yes, sir; eight hundred and eighty-two.  
 Q.—What is the character of these people?  
 A.—They do not hold a very good character in their own country. They were not so much trouble, however, as the papers have represented. The accounts as published were highly embellished. We had a little trouble at first, but very soon stopped that.  
 Q.—Is this class a desirable one for any country to have?  
 A.—I don't think it is, because of the low moral condition of the people.  
 Q.—Have you been in Australia?  
 A.—I have.  
 Q.—How are the Chinese treated there?  
 A.—Not very well. The inhabitants found that they were being crowded out by the Chinese, and have commenced driving them from the country. Large numbers are leaving. I brought two hundred and forty from Singapore, where they came from Australia in the *Brisbane*. I left them at Hongkong.  
 Q.—As an Englishman, what would you think if they were to overrun your country?  
 A.—It would behoove the Englishmen to drive them out.  
 Q.—Why?  
 A.—They work for low wages, and they are not the class of people that we would like to have in our own country.  
 Q.—Why is it they can work for lower wages?  
 A.—They can live cheaper. A handful of rice, with water, will suffice for their meals.  
*Mr. Haymond*.—How do their morals compare with those of the English working classes?  
 A.—They are very much lower in every way.  
 Q.—What effect, do you think, the introduction of thirty thousand or forty thousand Chinamen into an English city would have?  
 A.—Their standard is so much lower, I don't think they would be allowed in any English city, and I hope never to see that happen.  
 Q.—In the vicinity of Canton, does an immense number of people live on the rivers?  
 A.—Yes. A great many live in boats, following the occupation of fishermen, and working around the ships.  
 Q.—What is the character of that people as law abiding citizens?  
 A.—The Chinese Government is very rotten, and exercises but little control over these men. The mandarins levy as much tribute as they can on the people around them. I suppose they must pay, in their turn, to some higher authority.  
 Q.—Are any of them engaged in piracy?  
 A.—I would not like to say.  
 Q.—What is the prevailing impression among seamen who visit that port, as a rule?  
 A.—There are many different opinions. The general opinion is not very favorable.  
 Q.—How do these people compare with the same classes of English or German, about their homes?  
 A.—They are very much lower—far inferior.  
 Q.—Are their cities and towns clean or dirty?  
 A.—Very dirty, indeed. When one has been in a Chinese city once, he has no ambition to return to it again.  
 Q.—Have you visited the Chinese quarters in Australia?  
 A.—Yes, in Melbourne.  
 Q.—How are they there?  
 A.—Very dirty. Of course they are compelled to keep the streets clean, but that is as far as their cleanliness goes. I think the people are driving them out, now. It is being done by the people themselves, not by the government.  
 Q.—Are there many women imported to that country?  
 A.—I never saw any women there at all.  
 Q.—Do you think they would permit the landing of a ship load of prostitutes?  
 A.—I think it is most certain that they would not.

#### BAYARD TAYLOR ON THE MORALS OF THE CHINESE.

Bayard Taylor says of them in his work entitled “India, China, and Japan,” published in eighteen hundred and fifty-five:

It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice, which in other countries are barely named, are in China so common that they excite no comment among the natives. They constitute the surface level,

and below them are deeps and deeps of depravity so shocking and horrible that their character cannot even be hinted. There are some dark shadows in human nature which we naturally shrink from penetrating, and I made no attempt to collect information of this kind; but there was enough in the things which I could not avoid seeing and hearing—which are brought almost daily to the notice of every foreign resident—to inspire me with a powerful aversion to the Chinese race. *Their touch is pollution*, and, harsh as the opinion may seem, *justice to our own race demands that they should not be allowed to settle on our soil*. Science may have lost something, but mankind has gained, by the exclusive policy which has governed China during the past centuries.

#### CRIMINAL PROPENSITIES OF THE CHINESE.

Mr. D. J. Murphy, District Attorney of San Francisco, testifies: (Evidence, p. 83.)

That from seven-tenths to eight-tenths of the Chinese population of San Francisco belong to the criminal classes.

Chief of Police Ellis testifies: (Evidence, p. 111.)

Q.—It is in testimony that there are about thirty thousand Chinese living in this city (San Francisco) the most of them residing in seven or eight blocks. Do you know what proportion of that population is criminal?

A.—I should say that there are about one thousand five hundred or two thousand regular criminals.

Q.—Including those who violate the city ordinances in relation to fires and health, and those who live off the wages of the criminal classes, what is the proportion?

A.—I think almost the entire population.

Q.—Excluding from consideration the Chinese quarter, how are the laws and ordinances enforced in this city, as compared with other American cities?

A.—Favorably.

Mr. Duffield (Evidence, p. 48,) testifies as follows:

Q.—How is this population (Chinese) as to criminal propensities?

A.—They are a nation of thieves. I have never seen one that would not steal.

Q.—What is the proportion of criminals to the whole number? What is the proportion of men who follow crime for a livelihood?

A.—I call a man who will steal a criminal.

Q.—Then nearly all will be criminals?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you know anything of their spiriting away witnesses and compounding crimes?

A.—Yes, sir. They will do it all the time—from the Presidents down.

Q.—Have they some means of settling cases outside of Court?

A.—They all do it.

Q.—And there is no means of getting testimony outside of the Chinese?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—And they settle crimes whenever they can do so?

A.—Sometimes one company will prosecute another, but where they can settle for money, they will do it.

Q.—Have they any regard for justice here?

A.—No, sir; not a bit.

Q.—How does their testimony stand in the Courts?

A.—They think no more of taking an oath than they do of eating rice. They have no regard for our oaths at all. Their own oaths they regard as sacred, and the only way you can get them to tell the truth is to cut off a rooster's head and burn China paper. They followed that system here in early days, but not lately.

Q.—Is it not often the case that on a preliminary examination there is testimony enough to convict a man, but when you come to the trial these same witnesses testify exactly the reverse, or else will not testify at all.

A.—Yes, sir.

John L. Durkee, Fire Marshal for twelve years past of San Francisco, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 53.)

Q.—What has been your experience with fires in the Chinese quarter?

A.—They burn pretty badly. A fire in the Chinese quarter is very troublesome for the reason that there are so many partitions. Out of an ordinary room they will make two and three



stories, and when a fire gets in there it is hard to get at it. They are the most careless people with fire that I ever saw in my life. There are as many fires there as in the balance of the city, and it is a miracle that there are not more.

Q.—You have been through a great many of these buildings, have you not?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How do they conform to the laws and ordinances of the Board of Supervisors in relation to the fire ordinances?

A.—They don't conform at all. They are more trouble than all the white people put together.

Q.—From what part of the United States did you come?

A.—New York.

Q.—How does the Chinese quarter here compare with the worst parts of New York of twenty-five years ago, in point of cleanliness?

A.—I could not make the comparison—this is so infinitely filthier. I never saw a place so dirty and filthy as our Chinese quarter.

Q.—Do you know the Globe Hotel, and its condition?

A.—I have not been in it for some time, but when I was there, it was like the balance; probably a little worse, if possible.

Q.—How near to the City Hall have the Chinese extended their quarters?

A.—They are within sight and hearing distance all around here, and very close to the business part of town. Property around here is constantly depreciating in value, because of the approach of the Chinese. The whites cannot stand their dirt and the fumes of opium, and are compelled to leave their vicinity. This part of the city has grown very little in eight years, while other portions have grown very much. Houses occupied by Chinese are not fit for white occupation, because of the filth and stench. Chinamen violate the fire ordinances, and unless we catch them in the act we cannot convict. They all swear themselves clear. The only way I can account for our not having a great fire in the Chinese quarter is, that the wood is too filthy and too moist from nastiness to burn. It has too much dirt on it to catch fire.

#### THEY PAY NO TAXES.

Mr. Badlam, Assessor of San Francisco, testifies: (Evidence, p. 82.)

The population of San Francisco is about two hundred and fifty thousand, of that about thirty thousand are Chinese. The Chinese pay about one three-thousandths part of the taxes.

The committee addressed circular letters to each County Assessor in the State, and from returns received, the assessed value of all property, real and personal, assessed to Chinese in this State, does not exceed one million five hundred thousand dollars. The rate of State tax is sixty-four cents on each one hundred dollars in value, and if the whole tax was paid, the revenue derived by the State from the property tax laid upon property held by Chinese would not exceed nine thousand six hundred dollars.

The assessed value of all the property in the State is, in round numbers, six hundred million.

The total population of the State is about seven hundred and fifty thousand, and the Chinese population is more than one-sixth of the whole.

The Chinese population, amounting to at least one-sixth of the whole population, pays less than one four-hundredth part of the revenue required to support the State Government.

The State appropriates ten thousand dollars per month for the support of the State Prison, the earnings of the prisoners falling that much short of maintaining the prison. It will be seen that the net cost to the State for each prisoner is about thirty cents per day; and this without taking into consideration the cost of prison buildings.

The net cost to the State of keeping one hundred and ninety-eight Chinese prisoners in the State Prison is not less than than twenty-one thousand six hundred dollars per annum, a sum twelve thousand dollars in excess of the whole amount of the property tax collected from the Chinese population of the State.



## SANITARY ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT.

But we desire to call the attention of your honorable body to the sanitary aspect of the subject. The Chinese herd together in one spot, whether in city or village, until they transform the vicinage into a perfect hive—there they live packed together, an hundred living in a space that would be insufficient for an average American family.

Their place of domicile is filthy in the extreme, and to a degree that cleansing is impossible except by the absolute destruction of the dwellings they occupy. But for the healthfulness of our climate our city populations would have long since been decimated by pestilence from these causes. And we do not know how long this natural protection will suffice us.

In almost every house is found a room devoted to opium smoking, and these places are visited by white boys and women, so that the deadly opium habit is being introduced among our people.

Leprosy, that scourge of eastern nations, exists among them to some extent, and may be greatly increased by immigration and contagion.

Small-pox is domesticated among them by inoculation, and they are rarely free from the disease.

Senator Lewis, a member of this Committee, who made a personal inspection of the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 45.)

"We went into places so filthy and dirty I cannot see how these people lived there. The fumes of opium, mingled with the odor arising from filth and dirt, made rather a sickening feeling creep over us. I would not go through that quarter again for anything in the world. The whole Chinese quarter is miserably filthy, and I think that the passage of an ordinance removing them from the city, as a nuisance, would be justifiable. I do not understand why a pestilence has not ere this raged there. It is probably owing to the fact that this is one of the most healthy cities in the world. The houses would be unfit for the occupation of white people, for I do not see how it would be possible to cleanse them, unless you burn up the whole quarter, and even then I doubt whether you can get rid of the filth."

Officer Duffield (Evidence, p. 47,) testifies:

Q.—Taking the Chinese quarter as a whole, is it as filthy as it can be?

A.—Yes, sir. It cannot be much dirtier.

Q.—Were you ever in New York City?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Was there any part of that city, as it existed twenty years ago, that could be compared with the Chinese quarter?

A.—No, sir. The Five Points could not be compared with it. The Chinese quarter is dirtier and filthier than the Five Points were.

Mr. Supple testifies: (Evidence, p. 80.)

They live in small places, more like hogs than human beings.

Mr. Ellis, Chief of Police for San Francisco, testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 111.)

Q.—Are you acquainted with the Chinese quarter of this city?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—What is their condition in relation to cleanliness?

A.—Very foul and filthy.

Q.—Do you know of any quarter of any American or European city that will compare with it for filth?

A.—No, sir.

#### THE STATE GOVERNMENT POWERLESS.

It may be suggested that a remedy for these evils can be found in action by the State Government, or the influence which well regulated society yields in its own defense. To this suggestion there are many conclusive answers. The City of San Francisco is one of the best governed cities in the world. Its police force is as able and efficient as any, and yet the concurrent testimony of its most experienced and reliable officers is, that it is impossible to suppress or punish crimes committed by the Chinese population. This population is chiefly confined to seven or eight blocks. These blocks constitute homes of refuge for the criminal classes. Secret tribunals, when arrests are made, interfere to protect the guilty and to punish the innocent. Our Courts swarm with Chinese witnesses, ready and willing to commit perjury to defeat the ends of justice. In the language of District Attorney Murphy: "Such witnesses, in most cases, raise by their testimony that doubt in the minds of jurors, which, under our system, requires an acquittal." We cannot in this community assume that a man is guilty and punish him. We must proceed according to the forms of law and establish guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. These are cardinal rules in the administration of criminal jurisprudence by all English speaking people. These rules fail when applied to a people who have no ideas of justice in common with ours; to a people which, in its own land, cannot be restrained from crime and outrage even by the power of a despotic government.

It may be urged that local laws would prevent Chinese prostitution, and the consequences which flow from it. In reply, we beg to submit that in the best governed cities in the Eastern States all efforts to prevent prostitution have failed. If failure has been the rule without a single exception in the Eastern cities, what success could be expected from local laws on this coast, when the problem to be solved contains every factor known to the evil in the East, and has added that of an alien race which esteems it a legitimate business, and by craft and subtlety uses our laws to protect it. We must meet facts in the face. It is a fact, beyond question, that so long as this traffic in women is permitted there is no power in the State Government sufficient to protect our people from its consequences. The State Government has exhausted every power to that end, and has failed to prevent the importation of these female slaves. Stringent laws were enacted by the State Legislature to prevent this traffic. In eighteen hundred and seventy-four the steamer Japan arrived at the port of San Francisco from China, having on board twenty-one Chinese women, some of whom had been purchased and some stolen from their homes. The Commissioner of Immigration, acting under the State law, forbid their landing and required their return to their homes. The State Courts sustained his action and the women were about to be returned when a writ of habeas corpus was issued from the Circuit Court of the United States, and upon final hearing the State law was held to be in violation of the Federal laws. The effect of the judgment of the Federal Court was to give these women to their owners, and they were in

fact taken to the barracoons and portioned out to their masters. This is probably the first instance in the history of the world in which the "great writ" has been used to consign human beings to a slavery worse than death. Let us remind you that the hearts of the Northern people were stirred when, in obedience to the mandates of the Federal Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof, fugitive slaves were returned to their masters. That afterward, during the civil war, the whole power of the Federal Government was used to abolish slavery where it existed by virtue of local laws and the wishes of the people. California's Constitution, framed more than a quarter of a century ago, and adopted by a nearly unanimous vote, declares that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within her limits, save as a punishment for crime. Her generous people have always upheld that sentiment. Yet, to-day, within her borders, in defiance of her laws, against the wishes of her people, slavery does exist in a form more loathsome than ever known in a white community. It exists by virtue of the power wielded by Federal Courts. We will not believe that the people of our sister States are cognizant of these horrible facts. We bring them to your attention, and demand, in the name of humanity, that all obstacles placed by the Federal Government to the emancipation of these unfortunate beings, or to the prevention of this traffic in human bodies and souls, be removed. The people of this State have done their duty; the responsibility for a further continuance of this state of affairs rests with the representatives of the people of the United States.

#### CAUSE OF CHRISTIANITY NOT ADVANCED.

An idea is abroad that the cause of religion and Christian civilization is to be advanced by the presence of this people in our midst. There is no foundation in fact for the notion that by means of the Chinese on this coast the religion of mercy, love, and gracious charity is to be given to the people of the Chinese Empire. We have over one hundred thousand Chinese in this State, and it is more than likely that in the last twenty-five years four times that number have in this State been brought in contact with our people and churches. Yet, of all this vast horde, not four hundred have been brought to a realization of the truths of Christianity. Nor is this the fault of our people. Earnest, faithful, Christian men and women have, with a devotion seldom equaled, given to the cause their best endeavors. Christian missions have been founded, and Christian ministers have labored. The wealth of the churches have been poured out in vain. These great efforts have been futile. It is safe to say that where one soul has been saved, placed to the credit side, by reason of the presence of the heathen hordes on this coast, a hundred white have been lost by the contamination of their presence. The Rev. Otis Gibson, after nine years of zealous labor, says he has baptized thirty-six persons. (Evidence, p. 34.) The Presbyterian mission in San Francisco, under the charge of the Rev. A. W. Loomis, an earnest and zealous missionary laborer, has in seventeen years made eighty converts.

The Rev. H. H. Rice, of Sacramento, a Presbyterian clergyman of more than ordinary ability, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 161 and 162.)



A.—I am a minister of the gospel. I am pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, in this city.

Q.—State generally what efforts have been made by your church towards the conversion of the Chinese in our midst?

A.—There are two classes of efforts being made in relation to Chinese advancement, one secular and the other religious, although they are blended to some extent. We have a night-school on Fourth Street, taught by a member of our church, where the Chinese are taught to read, and are given the elements of an ordinary school education. We do not teach them anything about the principles of our government. I believe that ought to be taught by the government. The government ought to sustain Chinese schools, and, as far as possible, modify the ignorance of the Chinese race. The persons attending our school are mostly adults. We think it is our duty, because the Board of Education has not thus far opened the public schools to the Chinese, to educate them, for we are convinced that Chinese immigration, if left to itself, will simply be a flood of heathenism poured on American soil. It is therefore the duty of the government to rise up and control it, and teach the Chinese American customs, and give them an education, in order to civilize them. Our mission night-school simply aims to give them a purely secular English education. They must be educated or excluded, and I do not believe it is possible to exclude them. The result of the meeting of the Chinese and the American civilizations is that the Chinese will come to this country, no matter what measures are taken to prevent it. Their education is, therefore, a public necessity, and a move in the nature of self-protection. The burden of educating them ought not, however, to be thrown upon the State of California, but should be sustained by the Federal Government.

Q.—It is exclusion on the one hand, or education on the other?

A.—I will say that it is exclusion or education, and you cannot exclude them.

Q.—You assume that it is a public necessity that they be educated?

A.—It seems so to me.

Q.—Do the Chinese come to this country to live?

A.—No.

Q.—They are here for some temporary purpose?

A.—Yes, sir.

The Rev. J. H. C. Bonte, Rector of Grace Church (Episcopal), in Sacramento City, a gentleman of culture and of deservedly high standing in the ministry, and one who has given to the question under consideration deep study, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 163 and 164.)

Q.—Have you had occasion to examine the effect which Chinese immigration is having upon the people of this State?

A.—Yes, sir. I have talked with the medical faculty in regard to the subject, and I have considered the question from a religious standpoint. The general moral effect has been very bad upon the young of this country. My judgment is based upon facts I have gained mostly from medical men in this city.

Q.—Men of standing in their profession?

A.—The ablest and best. The general effect, according to all the testimony I have gathered of their presence, has been deplorably bad in that direction. The conversion of the Chinese to Christianity is a consummation hoped for and believed in by every Christian. I have no doubt whatever of the power of the gospel to regenerate the whole Chinese Empire. But Christian men differ as to the method by which this result is to be accomplished—the precise manner of reaching the Chinese. In the opinion of many good observers who have made this subject a study, this great result is to be accomplished through Chinese instrumentality, and in their own country; while others believe that China is to be reached through the conversion of the Chinese in America. The former believe that the character of a nation is not to be changed by mere preaching, but by a steady process of religious training and culture, under teachers of their own race. The missionary work of the past proves the fact that a heathen nation can be generally or permanently transformed only while in a settled condition, and while living in their natural surroundings. Christianity cannot be imposed upon China, but must be put into the Chinese; and this work will be slow until they undertake it themselves. The Chinese in California are not in a favorable condition to hear the gospel. They are here simply for the purpose of making money, and as they find the great body of our own people engaged in the same enterprise, their love of money-getting becomes intensified by contact with our own people. They are, therefore, in a state of intense enthusiasm for gain, and sacrifice, like many of our own countrymen, everything for this one object. The Christian Church in California finds one of its greatest obstacles in this passion among our own people, and if it operates disastrously in the work of converting our own people, it must be even more so in the Chinese work. Again, the Chinese now in this country are continually on the move, and it is almost impossible to keep up a continuous influence upon any one of them. We have control of them only for a few weeks or months, when they go to localities where nothing is or can be done for them. I cannot see, believing as I do in the necessity of thorough Christian training, an opportunity of doing them much good while in this country. Even those who may remain a year or two in the same



place live under conditions which neutralize our efforts. The Christian teacher gains their attention only for a few hours, while their old ways and ideas have their continuous attention. They learn lessons, hear sermons, and learn Christian songs, then return to their inaccessible dens, where they again come under the sway of their old system. In my mind it is very doubtful whether a well-trained Christian could maintain his Christian character under similar conditions. Again, the Chinese are very keen observers, and let nothing pass unnoticed. We teach them Christianity, but they see our hoodlumism and crime, and wonder that our people reject a religion which we seek to give them. They easily discern the fact that the Christian people are in a small minority. The missionaries in all lands have found their greatest obstacle in their own irreligious countrymen, and here the same obstacle operates with increased force. Under these circumstances we have no right to expect special results in the conversion of the Chinese who live among us. Besides, the Christian Church in California is engaged in a severe struggle for its own existence. The nomadic habits of the people, their eager desire to make large fortunes, their lack of religious training, weakens the church very materially. The mass of the people of California came here at an early day, and they lived for many years without church privileges, and do not feel the necessity of churches as the people of older countries do. They do not stop long enough in their struggles to think that their early Christian training at home made them what they are, gave them their sense of right and wrong, imparted to them their great energy and hopefulness, and therefore they undervalue the church. For these and other reasons the Christian Church in California is very weak. The church of the Pacific slope is not organized for the stupendous undertaking of converting the Chinese. The clergy are fearfully overworked, and besides, they have no special training for this peculiar work. The laity do not live long enough in a place to get into harness and learn the art of working among the Chinese. Besides, both men and women in California work harder than the people of any other country; are more intensely occupied, and have less leisure. The Christian Church of the Pacific slope is therefore unprepared for this great emergency. The church has done its best, but that is comparatively little. It is foolish for Christian people in the East to expect much in the work of converting the Chinese, from the church of this country. In my judgment, the Chinese exercise as much influence among the people of this coast in favor of paganism as the church among the Chinese in favor of Christianity. The Christian Church will continue its work as long as the Chinese remain among us, but it will accomplish comparatively little, unless the church of the East throws its whole force into the work. The grand contest, which is to end with the conversion of China, must be carried on in China. The work in California, I fear, only retards our final success in China. What they see of Christianity here, from their standpoint, must impress them very unfavorably. As a Christian minister, I take no part in this opposition to the Chinese. The Christian Church believes, of necessity, in the brotherhood of man, and works for the salvation of all men indiscriminately, because they are men for whom Christ died. But this is a doctrine which the State cannot, at present, administer or establish. The State is organized for the protection and development of local institutions, ideas, and interests, and cannot permit the presence of systems that threaten its existence. The church is organized to establish the Kingdom of Christ throughout the world, and means to do it. The Chinese question is therefore mainly a question for statesmen, and must be determined from their standpoint.

Q.—Do you think that the missionary work in California has been well and faithfully done, and that it has borne as good fruits as possible, under the circumstances?

A.—Undoubtedly.

Q.—Do you know anything about the difference between the Japanese and the Chinese?

A.—I have had more intimate associations with the Japanese than with the Chinese, and there is certainly a very wide difference between the two nations.

Q.—Do the Chinese have any appreciation of a republican form of government?

A.—I have never found one that had the faintest conception of what it was.

Q.—How are the Japanese?

A.—They seem to have an instinctive knowledge of our institutions. I have read essays by even young Japanese girls, and they seem to have an instinctive insight into things as they are. As far as I have seen the Japanese, they have come to the conclusion that the secret of all our greatness is in the Christian religion. I talked with one of the most distinguished Japanese gentlemen that ever came to this country, and he told me that while they might carry over a great many of our fine arts and fine things, still they could not retain them unless they took our Christianity to sustain them. In dress and appearance, Japanese coming here try to imitate Americans. They stop at hotels, etc., and live like Americans. I am utterly amazed at the difference between the Japanese and the Chinese. I am convinced that through Japan we are to work the conversion of China.

Q.—What do you think of Senator Sargent's proposition to restrict immigration to ten on a ship?

A.—It would be certainly a very desirable thing, if it can be done. If further immigration were stopped, I think that the churches, by a concerted action, could reach these Chinese here, and, perhaps, make our efforts in China of more avail. The nomadic habits of those here are a great drawback. There is scarcely a Chinaman here that has not been in from ten to twenty places on the coast, and it is very difficult to christianize such roamers.

Mr. Andrew Aitken, an old and much esteemed resident of Sacramento, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 157 to 160.)

Q.—What knowledge have you as to the efforts made on this coast by the Christian people to convert and bring to Christianity the Chinese people?

A.—My knowledge, as far as I have assisted and observed the labors of others, is that it is beneficial.

Q.—What is beneficial—what has been done?

A.—Teaching them to read the English language, studying scripture, and quite a number have been converted to Christianity. There have been nine of them made members of the Presbyterian Church; of that number, one has died.

Q.—For what length of time have you observed these matters?

A.—I have been giving my personal attention for about three years—two years and a half or three years. I have been Superintendent of the Chinese school in the Presbyterian Church. That school is on the corner of Sixth and L streets, and is under the management of the Presbyterian Session.

Q.—How long is it since it was established?

A.—About two years and a half or three years.

Q.—How many Chinamen are attending it?

A.—On an average, about sixty last year; sometimes more and sometimes less; mostly adults.

Q.—Eight or nine Chinamen have been converted?

A.—Nine joined our church, one died, and eight are now members. The first-named joined three years ago, and the balance within a year and a half. Generally, the same persons attend school regularly. There is a class that we call the "Bible class," composed of some six or seven, that are always there.

Q.—During the time that you have known of these missionary efforts have the members of the church been zealous, and has everything been done that can be done to bring about a conversion of the Chinese?

A.—Yes, sir. In the evening school they are taught to read, and in learning they are very quick and accurate.

Q.—Do you teach them concerning any of the principles of the government?

A.—No.

Q.—Do they seem to know anything of them?

A.—We have never attempted to do anything in that direction; we merely teach them to read.

Q.—Do you know of anything that could have been done by your church or its members, within the bounds of reason, towards educating and christianizing the Chinese, that has not been done?

A.—I think a little more might have been done had we started years ago; but since we started we have done everything that could be reasonably expected. I think our school is the largest school in the city.

Q.—Do you know anything about the condition of the Chinese in the City of San Francisco?

A.—Only by hearsay.

Q.—What effect do you think this Chinese immigration would have upon California should it be continued to the extent that it is now carried—three thousand five hundred or four thousand a month?

A.—I do not think it would be beneficial, especially the importation of so many lewd women; that is the greatest fault I see in the immigration of Chinese. I am not in favor of seeing a great influx of Chinese any more than any one else, but those that are here it is our duty to try and elevate and educate.

Q.—If one hundred and fifty thousand of these Chinese should settle in California it would be necessary that they should be raised from their present condition?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—What effect do you think their presence in this city has upon the morals of the community—do you think that it is good or bad, taking it as a whole?

A.—I think as a whole that it has not been good—that is, taking the worst class. The majority are rather inclined to corrupt the morals of others.

Q.—Taking the Chinese members of the Presbyterian Church, what has been their conduct since—do you see any decided change in them?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—A very material one?

A.—Yes, sir. They seem to have a great reverence for anything that is religious. They are very attentive to lessons and learn to have a regard for praying. They seem to have more respect for prayer than even our own people.

Q.—How is it regarding their business relations—are they honest?

A.—I see no reason to doubt that.

Q.—Do you see any difference between them and the Chinese here?

A.—Yes, a marked difference. They do not associate with them, but keep by themselves. Those who are Christians associate with themselves or with white people.

Q.—Do you know what their opinion is about the effect of this large immigration into the country?

A.—I do not.

Q.—Do you find in this city, among the intelligent people, any desire to resort to force or violence against the Chinese here?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—And the general impression is the impression you have?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—You express the general feeling, when you say that they are here and must be protected, and that it would be a disgrace to our country to have any attacks made upon them?

A.—Yes, sir. That would show them that we are no better than they are.

Q.—Are there other mission schools in this city?

A.—The Methodist Church has one, and the Congregational folks have one.

Q.—Do you know how many students are attending them?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Do you know how many church members there are?

A.—I think one or two belong to the Congregational, and one or two to the Methodists.

Q.—How is your school and mission sustained?

A.—The night-school is sustained by the Board of Presbyterian Missionaries. Mr. Loomis sends me money every month to pay the rent and the teacher.

Q.—Can you fix about the annual expense?

A.—One hundred and thirty dollars for rent; three hundred dollars for teacher; porter, three hundred dollars; total, seven hundred and thirty dollars, besides light and fuel. About one thousand dollars a year is the cost of keeping up that school.

Q.—In that, of course, you do not include the labors of yourself?

A.—There is no one paid except the teacher. All the other labor is voluntarily given. The gas is furnished by the church.

Q.—Are there any Chinese women attending that school?

A.—No, sir. There is one little half-Chinese girl that comes to our regular Sabbath-school.

Q.—Is she living with a white family?

A.—Yes, sir; but you could not tell but what she was pure white.

Q.—You do not find any prejudice among the members of your church to their education and advancement, do you?

A.—There is nothing said, but since this Chinese question came up some have absented themselves from school. Young men come in, and listen to the singing, and I sometimes ask them if they will teach, but they refuse, saying they don't like Chinamen, or make some such remark as that.

Q.—Do they adopt the style of dress of white people?

A.—No. I do not think that has anything to do with it. Every nation has its customs in regard to dress, etc.

Q.—What is the employment of these persons that belong to your church?

A.—Some are engaged in washing, and some are servants.

Q.—Do you know how they are received by the Chinese who are not Christians?

A.—They are persecuted a good deal. I will state that a boy living with Judge Curtis, and who died a year ago, was as good a Christian as ever lived in the world. He was the first Chinese member of our church.

Q.—Do you meet with opposition from the mass of the Chinese?

A.—Yes, sir. During last year, last winter, they tried to kick up a fuss at the night-school, on Fourth Street, and I had to get a force of policemen to protect the school. They came there, and made noises, and tried to prevent boys from coming in. Since I got the police there has been no disturbance.

Q.—These converts are not very well treated by the Chinese?

A.—No. They are persecuted.

Q.—Your converts do not associate with the mass of the Chinamen?

A.—They do not make them their associates as they did formerly. They have to associate with them more or less, the same as we Christians associate with our kind.

Q.—From the manner in which they are received they would not naturally associate with them?

A.—No.

Q.—Do they express any intention of returning to China?

A.—Some of them do. We had a colporteur here who returned to China with the determination to preach in his own country. Since he went away there is another young man who is filling his place and preaching in the Chinese language about five minutes every Sunday night to those who cannot speak English. Quon Loy was the teacher, and he had great influence among the Chinese. He was among them continually, was an industrious man, and a good Christian.

Q.—Is not one of the difficulties in the way of the conversion of Chinese their migratory habits—that is, moving about from place to place?

A.—That would prevent more from uniting. One intended to join our church last spring, but he wished to go to San Francisco and unite with some of his acquaintances. I think it is a greater task for Chinamen to become Christians than it is for our own people, because they undergo more persecution and opposition amongst their own people; so it is a sacrifice they have to make. I have found these Chinese converts are very attentive to their duties, are present at communion service, and have as much regard for the solemnity of the occasion as any of us.

Q.—Have they any idea of the principles under which this country is governed?

A.—I do not know.



Q.—Don't you think it would be a good thing to educate them in that, in your mission schools?

A.—Yes, it would be. They seem to be very much taken up with reading, and, when they once learn, they read the papers. This Quon Loy writes as pretty a hand as you or I, and writes as pretty a letter as you would want to read. This boy, that lived with Judge Curtis, wrote a beautiful hand.

Q.—Senator Sargent has introduced a bill into the United States Senate, providing that hereafter not more than ten Chinamen shall be brought to this State on any one ship. What is your idea as to the passage of such a bill?

A.—I think it would be beneficial to restrict the immigration in that way. I believe in that fully.

Lem Schaum, a Chinese convert to Christianity, and a most remarkable man, testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 138 and 139.)

Q.—Do you know whether the Chinese Government is in favor of its people coming here or not?

A.—It is not in favor of it, but the government can't help itself. The policy of the Chinese Government has been exclusive. It desires to keep its people at home. This immigration is mostly from the Province of Canton.

Q.—Suppose the mass of that immigration was stopped, do you think it would have any influence on our commercial relations with other parts of China?

A.—No. I think this immigration must stop. I say it is not only ruining Americans, but it ruins the Chinese. Their wages, we notice, come down every day. A short time ago Chinamen got thirty-six dollars a month working on the railroad. What do they get now? Twenty-six dollars per month—one dollar a day. This immigration must be stopped in some way.

Q.—Do you think, if proper representations were made to the Chinese Government by intelligent Chinamen, as to the state of affairs here, they would willingly aid in stopping it—stopping this immigration of the lower classes here?

A.—The government, I am afraid, would not be able to do it. It has eighteen provinces, and a revolution in every province almost.

Q.—It is claimed that if we were to attempt to stop it ourselves the Chinese Government would be offended?

A.—No, they would not be offended; but they would be very glad to do that, the same as I am. The Chinese Government would be only too glad to prevent their people coming to this country.

Q.—What is the general opinion of Christian Chinamen with whom you associate in this State as to the policy or impolicy of having this Chinese immigration continue without any limits?

A.—We think that this immigration must be stopped. It must be stopped in some way, and then we can look after those Christians educated in this country. We want to stretch forth our hand as far as we can so as to instruct them about a better world than this. That is our object, and a good many of them are going back to preach at home. Looking at this thing from a Christian standpoint, I think that christianity is not advanced by this immigration, and I would give anything in the world to have it stopped.

Q.—In the Eastern States, when we proposed to check this immigration, or to limit it to the better class of Chinese, we were met with this proposition: that Chinese immigration to this country would have the result of christianizing China. I understand you to say that the immigration, such as is coming here now, don't tend to the advancement of christianity?

A.—It does not.

Q.—So it would be better, then, from your standpoint as a Chinaman, to stop it, for by stopping it you would make more Christians?

A.—Yes, sir.

We are of the opinion that the evidence quoted fairly represents the situation from a humanitarian standpoint. That it shows how great the effort has been to civilize and convert these people—how wholly that effort has failed. We find that even here the Chinaman, true to his instinct, and in violation of our laws, resorts to force to resist the influences that true men and good women in their devotion would throw around him.

A close examination of all the facts convince us that wide-spread, dangerous, and corrupting outbreaks of immoral conduct are prevented only by fear of the hot indignation of our people, and their consequent forcible exile from this country. Once convinced that they are not to be molested, restrained, or regulated, and they will



give manifestations of immorality which will shock and confound the public mind.

We cannot bring our public schools to bear upon this population, for the reason that the State does not contemplate the education of adults, and could not bear the expense even if we could reach them in that way.

Are the people of the United States, now struggling with as great a burden of taxation as they can well bear, prepared to adopt the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Rice, and attempt the education of the male adults that China may throw upon this coast? If not, we must exclude them, or imperil society itself. Upon this point all agree.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE UPON FREE LABOR.

We now call attention to an aspect of the subject of such huge proportions, and such practical and pressing importance, that we almost dread to enter upon its consideration, namely, the effect of Chinese labor upon our industrial classes. We admit that the Chinese were, in the earlier history of the State, when white labor was not attainable, very useful in the development of our peculiar industries; that they were of great service in railroad building, in mining, gardening, general agriculture, and as domestic servants.

We admit that the Chinese are exceedingly expert in all kinds of labor and manufacturing; that they are easily and inexpensively handled in large numbers.

We recognize the right of all men to better their condition when they can, and deeply sympathize with the overcrowded population of China.

But our own people are the original settlers of California, their children, and recent immigrants from the East and Europe. They cannot compete with Chinese labor, and are now suffering because of this inability. This inability does not arise out of any deficiency of skill or will, but out of a mode of life hitherto considered essential to our American civilization.

Our people have families, a condition considered of vast importance to our civilization, while the Chinese have not, or if they have families they need but little to support them in their native land.

Our laborers cannot be induced to live like vermin, as the Chinese, and these habits of individual and family life have ever been encouraged by our statesmen as essential to good morals.

Our laborers require meat and bread, which have been considered by us as necessary to that mental and bodily strength which is thought to be important in the citizens of a republic which depends upon the strength of its people, while the Chinese require only rice, dried fish, tea, and a few simple vegetables. The cost of sustenance to the whites is four-fold greater than that of the Chinese, and the wages of the whites must of necessity be greater than the wages required by the Chinese. The Chinese are, therefore, able to underbid the whites in every kind of labor. They can be hired in masses; they can be managed and controlled like unthinking slaves. But our laborer has an individual life, cannot be controlled as a slave by brutal masters, and this individuality has been required of him by the genius of our institutions, and upon these elements of character the State depends for defense and growth.

To compete with the Chinese, our laborer must be entirely changed in character, in habits of life, in everything that the Republic has hitherto required him to be.

As a matter of fact, the Chinese have monopolized the laundry business, cigar making, the manufacture of slippers, the manipulation of sewing machines, domestic servitude, harvesting, fruit gathering, railroad building, placer mining, fishing, the manufacture of silk and wool, and many other occupations.

As a natural consequence the white laborer is out of employment, and misery and want are fast taking the places of comfort and plenty.

Now, to consider and weigh the benefits returned to us by the Chinese for these privileges and for these wrongs to our laboring classes. They buy little or nothing from our own people, but import both their food and clothing from China; they send their wages home; they have not introduced a single industry peculiar to their own country; they contribute nothing to the support of our institutions; can never be relied upon as defenders of the State; they have no intention of becoming citizens; they acquire no homes, and are a constant tax upon the public treasury.

At this point we refer briefly to the testimony given upon these questions, in order that you may be satisfied we have not overstated the difficulties. Mr. Shaw (Evidence, pp. 18 and 19,) testifies:

Q.—How is the condition of the laboring men in China to be compared with the condition of those who are here?

A.—It is undoubtedly going from misery to comfort. The amount of destitution in China is very serious. Peking, in my opinion, is one of the filthiest cities to be found. There is what is called a Chinese City of Peking and a Tartar city. The Chinese city is filthy to a degree almost beyond belief. I have seen tricks perpetrated in the streets of Peking proper that would only be tolerated in brutes in a civilized country. When I was there I wondered how ladies could go into the streets at all, and I was told that they hardly ever did; that they never attempted to walk in the streets, but when compelled to go out used the conveyances of that country. When they wanted exercise they were carried to the walls of the city, where they could walk without seeing sights that would be disgusting. Those streets are filthy beyond what should ever be seen among human beings. The great mass of the people, it seemed to me, were ignorant, and not in a position to be removed from ignorance. They have, it is true, a system of education, but that system of education is confined to certain books written four thousand years ago. They think there is no knowledge anywhere that is not found in those books, and, as a consequence, their learning, from the highest to the lowest, must be very limited, according to our ideas."

Rev. Mr. Loomis testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 54 and 55.)

Q.—What wages are received in China?

A.—I think from three to five dollars a month.

Q.—And board themselves?

A.—Well, I don't know about that. I think servants in Hongkong, Canton, and Macao receive three dollars or four dollars a month, where they are employed in families. Then they board with the families, I think. On the farms they board themselves.

Q.—How much will it take to support the family of a laboring man in China, where he has a wife and two or three children?

A.—Three or four dollars a month. Some live on less than that. Everything is very cheap. A man who acquires three hundred dollars or four hundred dollars is rich—esteemed comfortably well off. There are large land-holders and heavy merchants there who are very wealthy.

Mr. Altemeyer testifies: (Evidence, p. 51.)

Q.—Is the employment of Chinese labor here detrimental to the employment of white labor?

A.—Yes, sir: there is no question but that it keeps white men from coming here, while those who are here cannot get work.

Q.—Is it not true that the lighter branches of trade and manufactures, which in other places are filled by boys, are here filled by the Chinese?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—This deprives both boys and girls of occupations?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Are they skillful?

A.—They are quick at imitation. They learn soon by looking on. Then they go off in business for themselves. For business men to employ Chinese, is simply putting nails in their coffins. Every Chinaman employed will be a competitor. The result must be the driving from the country of white business men and white laborers. White laborers could not live as they do, and the result would be a ruinous competition for the whites. The Chinese merchant can live as much cheaper than the white merchant as can the Chinese laborer live cheaper than the white laborer. When such a thing gets full headway the whites will be displaced. I have made this thing a very careful study, and my experience teaches me that these views are correct?

Mr. Duffy testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 125 and 126.)

Q.—Why can they (the Chinese) afford to do work cheaper than white men?

A.—They can work cheaper than the white man, because they have no families to support, and therefore live much cheaper. Their living does not cost them over fifteen cents per day. Take a laboring man here who has a wife and two children dependent upon him, and his expenses at the very least are two dollars and fifty cents a day, and he must live very economically to make that amount do. Where a laboring man has no family, his necessary expenses will be from one dollar and seventy-five cents to two dollars a day. He can board for twenty dollars a month, and his washing, clothing, etc., will make up the balance. Most of the Chinese here wear clothes of Chinese manufacture, consume goods imported from China, and all their dealings are against the American interests. Where they do not board themselves, they can be accommodated—boarded and lodged—at houses in Chinatown for one dollar and fifty cents a week, and less.

Mat. Karcher, ex-Chief of Police for Sacramento, testifies: (Evidence, p. 131.)

Q.—In San Francisco, at an early day, and in Sacramento, there were few boys fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen years of age in the country?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And the places occupied by boys in other countries were filled by the Chinese?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—So that the result was, that when boys came along in the natural growth of the country there was no work for them to do?

A.—That is correct.

Q.—We have an element in San Francisco, and a small element here, known as hoodlums. Might not the growth of that element be justly attributed to the presence of this people in our midst?

A.—I think nine-tenths of it may. In other countries boys find employment in this light work, but here it is done by the Chinese.

Mr. Oliver Jackson testifies as follows: (Evidence, p. 144.)

Q.—How much a day can Chinese laborers of the lower classes support themselves upon?

A.—They can live on ten cents a day. White men cannot board themselves for less than fifty cents a day. The Chinese evade all the tax they can. A poll-tax receipt is passed around from one to the other, and they swear themselves clear of paying whenever they can.

Q.—Do they import much of their food and clothing from China?

A.—Yes, sir. They spend very little money with Americans. They come here, stay until they get some money together, and then go home again. While they are here, they are sending money home all the time.

Q.—From what you have seen, do you think the presence of the Chinese here tends to the advancement of Christian civilization?

A.—It has the reverse effect. It is also degrading to white labor; instead of learning good, they are learning vice. They are becoming educated only in thievery, and perjury, and every thing bad.

Mr. Karcher testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 132 and 133.)

The Chinese live together, fifteen or twenty in a small room, and do their cooking there and sleep there. This enables them to live upon probably ten cents a day, or seventy cents a week, while a white laborer would be under an expense, at the very least, of twelve dollars a week. The Chinese use Chinese clothing, live upon Chinese rice, and deal with Chinese merchants.



The Chinese washerman has taken the place of the white washerwoman. He has usurped the place of the white girl in families. He has driven white laborers from the factories, the fields, and the ordinary work of laborers. He has invaded a large portion of our manufacturing institutions, displacing white labor, male and female. He has been enabled to do this from the fact that he works for less than is necessary to support the most economical of white laborers. It has been stated in Eastern papers that the Chinese on this coast are abused, and that they are not protected by the laws. That is not so. It is because the laws have been well enforced in California that the people have stood this thing so long as they have. If we should send a population of this kind to any large city in the United States, and the workingmen should understand the character of the Chinese as we understand it, they would rise up and prevent their settling among them.

Mr. James Galloway testifies as follows: (Evidence, pp. 155 and 156.)

Their (the Chinese) operations in the mines have often been very profitable. These mines are nearly all worked by companies. Companies bring up scores of them and hire them out, or buy or locate claims, and set them to work on them. The company comes down in the evening and takes possession of the gold. These companies supply the rice and other provisions, tools, etc., for these fellows who work in the mines. When a person hires one or more of these Chinamen, it is usual, if not universal, to settle with the head man of the company; and if you turn off one he will bring you another. They appear to control all their movements, and take their earnings as though they were their property. Companies often locate mines on their own account, but generally get some person to locate the ground, and then buy from them, and thus they think they get a better title. They work much poor ground, but have also worked many hundreds of rich claims, and have taken out a large amount of gold. For several seasons I resided on the banks of the Yuba, and used to see their clean-up, and know that for years several companies made as high as from four dollars to twelve dollars per hand to the day. This money (so far as my opportunities enabled me to judge, and my opportunities were of the best) nearly all left the mines in possession or ownership of Chinamen. They have no property, or but little in mining camps, or in the mines, that is worthy of the Assessor's or Tax-gatherer's notice: They get the gold and go scot free, as a general rule. Nearly all the ground they have worked could now be profitably worked by white labor—some of it would pay richly. They were not safe neighbors where they had large camps, and the whites were few. They are ingenious and imitative, and can work wet diggings as well, if not better than white men. In our mining towns they now occupy most of the domestic positions that women and girls did before their immigration to the mines. Many poor persons—widows, in some cases, with children—have been displaced by these Chinese laborers; especially is this the case in the laundry business and cooking. They do carry away our gold, and without any power of our getting any revenue from them. From my observation, I would say their presence in the mines is as injurious to our citizens living in them as in the cities, with this addition, that they carry away more wealth, and give less return, than in the latter places. Their morals are as bad. Their opportunities of committing outrages upon persons, and violating rights of property, are greater, while their punishment is less certain—being more difficult.

It appeared in proof that no Chinaman, unless he is a Christian, can leave this State without a permit from one of the six companies. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company will not sell them tickets without this permit. (Evidence, p. 26.)

“In considering the Chinese question it is necessary to remember that however true economic axioms are, their applicability depends upon the character of the convictions held by those who are to exercise final judgment regarding them. Thus, it may be perfectly true, in an economic point of view, that capital ought to be free to employ the cheapest labor it can procure. It may also be perfectly true that the employment of cheap labor stimulates manufactures and quickens the creation of capital. But it does not at all necessarily follow that the effects of an unlimited supply of cheap labor are beneficial to the majority, and in a country where the majority rule it must be ultimately impossible to gain consent to economic systems which cannot be shown to produce this general satisfactory result. Nor are the staple arguments of the political economists proof against the single fact that under a government by universal suffrage it is impossible to persuade the masses into accepting a ruinous competition



with cheap labor. But in truth there are two distinct theories of political economy at present in conflict, and it is easy to see that their radical differences are due to the differences of political system. The European theory may be said to leave the personal equation out of consideration altogether. It assumes at the outset that the production of capital is the alpha and omega of industry and commerce, and it takes for granted that wealth means success. Cheap labor, according to this theory, is always acceptable, and competition should be left free to regulate wages. If the workingman cannot earn more than bread and water because of the fierceness of competition, he must accept his meager fare cheerfully, and console himself with the reflection that the laws of supply and demand have settled his lot for him, and that complaint is useless. In countries where the voice of labor is powerless, and where the usage of centuries has accustomed men to this life-long struggle for the bare necessities of life, this theory is endured. But the United States represent a different form of government; a form of government which begins by recognizing popular rights, and goes on recognizing them to the end. Here the people are the government, and, as in all nations, the majority must work for a subsistence, the question whether the majority shall work for starvation wages, or shall insist upon reasonable remuneration, can only be answered in one way. And thus, out of this more popular form of government, has arisen what may be called the new political economy. This is the theory that takes largest account of the personal equation, instead of ignoring it; which lays down the proposition that the greatest happiness to the greatest number is the true end and aim of all legislation and government, and which holds that great aggregate wealth is a far inferior desideratum to general moderate prosperity. It is from this especially American standpoint that the Chinese question must be discussed, for assuredly it will at last be settled in accordance with these views. Let it be shown that without the Chinaman our local industries would be paralyzed; that our manufacturers could not compete with Eastern rivals; that a great many undertakings involving much capital would fail—all this may be granted, and yet all this is insignificant when the broader aspect of the question comes to be considered. For after all, what is it that we are doing here upon the Pacific Coast?

“Are we engaged in building up a civilized empire, founded upon and permeated with the myriad influences of Caucasian culture; or are we merely planted here for the purpose of fighting greedily, each for his own hand, and of spoiling a country for whose future we have no care? If the latter, then indeed we should welcome Chinese labor, and should encourage its advent until it had driven white labor out of the field. But if we have higher duties; if we owe obligations to our race, to our civilization, to our kindred blood, to all that proclaims our common origin and testifies to the harmony and consistence of our aims—then assuredly we must decide that the Chinaman is a factor hostile to the prosperity, the progress and the civilization of the American people. And be it observed that however broad our philosophy, it must necessarily be limited by race, nationality and kindred civilization. We owe allegiance to those whose blood runs in our veins; to those who boast a community of ancestry, of literature, of progress in all its forms and phases. Europe, not Asia, appeals to us, and we should be recreant to those

instincts which are often the safest guides if we imperiled the future of our own race by subjecting them to a competition for which they are unfitted, and the only effect of which could be to brutalize and deteriorate them. There are some very 'advanced' thinkers who maintain that competition is the truest test of superiority, and who even go so far as to assert that if American labor cannot compete with Chinese labor the fact proves its essential inferiority, and indicates the Chinese as the coming race. Now, perhaps, if we were on the lookout for a civilization, and were prepared to judge dispassionately between all comers, we might be persuaded by such arguments, and might regard with indifference or even approval the prospect of the Mongolianization of this whole country. But as the case stands we already possess a civilization, and it is American, and not Chinese. Imperfect as it may be, and full of defects, it is at least our own, and it represents the labors, the thoughts, the aspirations, the struggles, of men of our own race and blood. To it we must therefore cling, and whatever possibilities of development we have must be grafted upon it. For the Chinaman we have no hard feelings, and no senseless hatred. We willingly admit that he offers a tremendous temptation to capitalists, and to all others who need work done at low rates. But when all is said that can be said in his favor we still fall back upon the consideration that it is American and not Chinese civilization that we are trying to build up, and that since Chinese labor means American destitution we must rid ourselves of it. To such as think differently we would further say: Do you believe that the intelligent millions of workingmen who possess votes in these United States can be persuaded into abandoning what is practically the defense of their means of livelihood? The Chinese question has not as yet penetrated throughout the country, but it will, and then the verdict will be given. At bottom it is the poison of slavery that rankles in this Chinese question, and the people must realize that truth also. It is not a mere question of comparative wages, but of civilization and progress."

A serious objection to slavery as it existed in the Southern States was that it tended to degrade white labor. The very same objection exists against Chinese labor in this State. The recent troubles in San Francisco are attributed to a class commonly known as "hoodlums"—young men who have grown up in idleness, without occupation of any kind; and who, in various ways, prey upon society. This class is peculiar to San Francisco. Many of our best thinkers argue that it owes its existence to the presence of a large Chinese population. For several years after the settlement of this State by Americans, the population was an adult population. There were no boys. The Chinese naturally fell into the positions occupied by and did the work that in other countries was assigned to boys. As boys grew up they found these places filled by Chinese, and very naturally looked upon the labor they performed as servile and degrading. Their pride—whether true or false is immaterial—kept them from entering the lists by the side of an abhorred race. If this view of the subject is correct, a fearful responsibility rests at the door of the advocates of Chinese labor. The Chinese are employed as agricultural laborers. The employment in most cases is not of individuals, but is of a drove, held in some sort of dependence by a head man or agent of the Chinese companies. The workmen live in sheds or in straw stacks, do their own cooking, have no homes, and are without

interest in their work or the country. The white laborer who would compete with them must not only pursue the same kind of a life, but must, like them, abdicate his individuality. The consequences would be lamentable even if the white laborer should succeed by such means in driving the Asiatic from the field. We would, in that event, have a laboring class without homes, without families, and without any of the restraining influences of society.

The slave owner at the South had an interest in his laborers, and even if the voice of humanity was silenced, yet that interest made him care for them. He gave them houses to live in, took care of them in sickness, and supported them when old age rendered them incapable. The owner of Chinese laborers in this State have no such interest. His interest is co-extensive with and limited by the ability of his slave to earn money. In sickness, he turns him over to the charity of the public. When disabled by age, he leaves him to fate. It takes no prophet to foretell that if white labor is brought down to the level of Asiatic labor the white laborer will meet like treatment.

Again, it can be truly said that slavery and its interests produced at the South a large body of intelligent and able statesmen, who, in the conflict between capital and labor, threw into the scale the weight of their power in behalf of labor. Their constituents were the proprietors of labor. The representative naturally consulted the interest of his constituents, and was invariably found the powerful advocate of industrial interests. This was a favorable side of slavery as it existed in the South, and to this extent, at least, Southern slavery exercised a beneficial influence wholly lacking in Chinese.

The slaves of the South were, as a race, kind and faithful. The Chinese, as a race, are cruel and treacherous. In this—by contrast—all the advantage was with Southern slavery.

On the whole, it is our judgment that unrestricted Chinese immigration tends more strongly to the degradation of labor, and to the subversion of our institutions than did slavery at the South. It has all of the disadvantages of African slavery, and none of its compensations.

#### LOSS TO THE COUNTRY FROM THIS IMMIGRATION.

The effect of this immigration is to prevent that of a more desirable class. There, again, in the mere matter of dollars and cents, the country at large is loser. These people bring no money with them, while it is assumed, on the most credible evidence, that one hundred dollars at least is the average amount in possession of each European immigrant. A well known social economist estimates the capital value of every laborer that comes from Europe and settles in this country at fifteen hundred dollars. This value rests upon the fact that such laborer makes this country his home, creates values, and contributes to the support of the nation. The Chinese laborer, on the contrary, makes a draft upon the wealth of the nation; takes from instead of adding to its substance. Not less than one hundred and eighty million dollars in gold have been abstracted from this State alone by Chinese laborers, while they have contributed nothing to the State or national wealth.

Given in place of one hundred and twenty-five thousand Chinese laborers the same number of male European immigrants, and the result may be stated in figures, as follows:



|                                                                        |                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Amount of money brought into the country, \$100 each .....             | \$12,500,000         |
| Capital value of 125,000 European male laborers, at \$1,500 each ..... | 187,500,000          |
| Add gold abstracted by Chinese laborers .....                          | 180,000,000          |
|                                                                        | <b>\$380,000,000</b> |

Thus, it is beyond question that, from a purely financial point of view, the United States is loser nearly four hundred millions of dollars by Chinese immigration—a sum which, if distributed throughout the country, now would go far toward alleviating present want and misery.

If it was true that no real objection existed to the presence of a large Chinese population, if it was true that the wrong and injury to the whites existed only in the imagination of the people of this country, even then we would insist that this immigration be restricted. This is a republic, dependent for its existence, not upon force, but upon the will and consent of the people, upon their satisfaction with the government. When that satisfaction ceases, will and consent will be withdrawn. Therefore, it behooves the representatives of the people, charged, in part, with the administration of that government, to wisely consider not only real, but fancied causes of dissatisfaction. If it be found that the presence of the Chinese element is a constant source of irritation and annoyance to our people, that it is not here to assimilate and become part of the body politic, that no good, or but little, results from its presence, it does seem that the mere dissatisfaction of the people with its presence should be cause for grave concern on the part of the government.

#### COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WILL NOT BE AFFECTED BY RESTRICTION.

But it is said that action on our part, tending to restrict Chinese immigration, would redound to the injury of commercial relations with that Empire. There is not the slightest foundation, in fact, for any such notion. The Government of China is opposed to the immigration. All of the witnesses agree upon this point.

The people of the Eastern States of the Union may not at present directly suffer from competition with these people, but they cannot but be sensible that State lines constitute no barrier to the movement of the Chinese—that as soon as the Pacific States are filled with this population it will overflow upon them. The Chinese Empire could spare a population far in excess of the population of the United States, and not feel the loss. Unless this influx of Chinese is prevented all the horrors of the immigration will in a few years be brought home to the people of the Eastern States. While the States east of the Mississippi do not directly feel the effects of Chinese immigration they are indirectly affected by it. The eastern manufacturer, for instance, of coarse boots and shoes, is driven out of the California market. He finds it stocked with the products of Chinese labor. The profits that would accrue to the manufacturer in the east, and his employés, have been diverted, and flow in a steady stream to China.

#### THE UNARMED INVASION.

Already, to the minds of many, this immigration begins to assume the nature and proportions of a dangerous unarmed invasion of our soil. Twenty years of increasing Chinese immigration will occupy



the entire Pacific Coast to the exclusion of the white population. Many of our people are confident that the whole coast is yet to become a mere colony of China. All the old empires have been conquered by armed invasions, but North and South America, and the Continent of Australia, have been conquered and wrested from their native inhabitants by peaceable, unarmed invasions. Nor is this fear entirely groundless as to the Pacific Coast, for it is in keeping with the principles which govern the changes of modern dynasties, and the advance guard is already upon our shores. The immigration which is needed to offset and balance that from China is retarded by the condition of the labor question on this coast, and we have reason to expect that within ten years the Chinese will equal in number the whites. In view of these facts thousands of our people are beginning to feel a settled exasperation—a profound sense of dissatisfaction with the situation. Hitherto this feeling has been restrained, and the Chinese have had the full protection of our laws. It may be true that, at rare intervals, acts of violence have been committed toward them; but it is also true that punishment has swiftly followed. Our city criminal courts invariably inflict a severer punishment for offenses committed upon Chinese than for like offenses committed against whites. The people of this State have been more than patient—we are satisfied that the condition of affairs, as they exist in San Francisco, would not be tolerated without a resort to violence in any eastern city. It is the part of wisdom to anticipate the day when patience may cease, and by wise legislation avert its evils. Impending difficulties of this character should not, in this advanced age, be left to the chance arbitrament of force. These are questions which ought to be solved by the statesman and philanthropist, and not by the soldier.

Adopted at a meeting of the Committee held in the City of San Francisco, August 13th, 1877.

CREED HAYMOND, Chairman.

Attest: FRANK SHAY, Secretary.



# CHINESE IMMIGRATION

BY

*annual*  
S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL.D.

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## CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

THE question of Chinese immigration has drawn to it a degree of attention since the immigrants began to land in this country thirty years ago, which can hardly be explained by their numbers, their conduct, or their capacity. The total arrivals from China during a quarter of a century have not equaled the number of persons which have landed at New York from Europe in six months during most of those same years. Their behavior, under great provocation, has excited no commotion ; nor has their learning, power, skill, or bigotry been such as to give any reasonable ground for alarm. It is not easy to account for the excitement on rational grounds, or to explain the many unfounded statements against the Chinese which have passed current, even after their inaccuracy has been shown. A good deal of the discussion has arisen from the different views taken as to what might grow out of their presence or increase. Some, drawing on their fears for their facts, regard them as the first ripple of an overwhelming flood of ignorance, poverty, heathenism, and vice ; while others, speaking from experience, after trying them in various capacities, assure us that the Chinese are docile, temperate, thrifty, and industrious, and have great capacity for improvement.

My present object is to describe the origin, kind, and prospects of this immigration, the conduct and the rights of the immigrants, with notices of their treatment, so as to come to an intelligent idea of the question. Few incidents in the last few months have had a more picturesque setting in regard to the actors, the place of meeting, and the subject talked of, than the interview held last April between General Grant and the Chinese merchants at Georgetown, in Pulo Penang. This island owes its commercial importance to the industry and skill of its twelve thousand Chinese settlers, who, under the care and control of the British Government, have made it a mart for the traffic of the neighboring islands and continent. They met the late President of the United States, in his journey around the globe. His position as a mere traveler offered to their minds, no doubt, something anomalous and almost inexplicable, but still invested with a scantling of its original power. They presented him with an address, whose subject was equally remarkable with the origin of the interlocutors, for they asked him to use his influence to secure a fair and liberal treatment for their countrymen in America, and to remove any restrictions which had been imposed on their freedom to come and go, the same as any other nation. He told them, in reply, "that the hostility of which they complained did not represent the real sentiment of America; but was the work of demagogues, who in that, as in other countries, pander to prejudice against race or nationality and favor any measure of oppression that might advance their political interests. He never doubted and no one could doubt that, in the end, no matter what effect the agitation for the time being might have, the American people would treat the Chinese with kindness and justice, and not deny to the free and deserving people of their

country the asylum they offer to the rest of the world."

I believe that this witness spoke truly. The discussions in the West and the East, in the pulpit and in Congress, will all tend to bring out the truth and help to maintain our national character for fairness and justice in relation to the Chinese. China itself is one of the best misrepresented countries in the world, and her people have been subject to the most singular diversity of opinion from writers and travelers, whose books have shown that they had had no opportunity to revise first impressions, or correct errors, and yet have furnished most of the statements relied on for the estimate taken of Chinese civilization. Now that scholars have increased, our acquaintance with the arts, culture, government, and literature of the sons of Han will help us better to understand the causes which have operated to make them, under the blessing of God, as much of a nation as they are.

They form one of the purest of existing races, and have occupied the eastern confines of Asia from very early times. The people are so often called Mongols in this country that it is concluded that they are of the same race as the nomads of the steppes. We may call them Turanians, if it be necessary to indicate their early race affinities ; but it is unjust to apply a term which only dates from Genghis Khan, in the 13th century, fully 3,000 years after their history begins. His grandson, Kublai, conquered China, and his family held sway over the empire for 83 years, under eleven emperors. All of them learned the elements of regular government from their subjects, whose manners, language, laws, and religion were generally adopted. Their expulsion left the Chinese to themselves, and the Mongols or Tartars, as they are now usually called, have been since mostly under the control of their former subjects.

The present rulers of China belong to neither of these races; but to the Manchu, which has occupied the northeastern shores of Asia since the 10th century. This race ruled the northern provinces of China for about 120 years, till A.D. 1232, when Genghis Khan destroyed their power and drove them back into their original haunts. They again grew powerful, and by a fortunate stroke repossessed themselves of Peking, in 1644, and have since ruled the empire with great prudence and vigor.

It is, therefore, an entire misnomer to call the Chinese Mongols, and I am sure that many persons use it in ignorance of the facts of the case. I am well aware how the term Mongolian is used by writers to include Laplanders, Tartars, Chinese, Japanese, with the Esquimaux and other Indian tribes, under one race; but we wrongly use it to designate a people occupying the Chinese Empire only. The old Aztecs and Iroquois, in this continent, were more alike in most respects than the Chinese and their neighbors in Central Asia, and they feel chagrined to be thus designated. Not a Mongol, to my knowledge, has ever landed in this country, and none are likely to come, any more than are the Arabians or Brahmins.

The southern Chinese alone have immigrated to foreign lands; and until recently went only to the Indian Archipelago, Siam, and India. This portion of the people is less pure as a race than their countrymen north of the Yangtse River, having early mingled with old Malayan tribes living south of the Nanling range in the province of Kwangtung. This mixed race exhibits some physical differences from their northern countrymen, the results of amalgamation, climate, and food; but is now quite the same in language, institutions, and religion. The people are smaller and more swarthy,



have more commercial enterprise, are better educated, and exhibit higher mechanical skill.

Only six departments or prefectures, lying along the coasts of the two provinces of Kwangtung and Fuhkien, from Hing-hwa near Fuhchau, to Shau-king, west of Canton, have furnished all the emigrants to other lands. The emigration into Malaysia and the Indian Islands has been going on for two centuries, and its results have been greatly to the advantage of the native states. Wherever the Chinese have come into actual conflict with Europeans it has been only with regard to trade and taxes, and never on account of their attempts to set up independent governments. The prosperity of Luconia, Siam, and Borneo has been largely owing to this element of their population; and even in Java, where the Dutch closed their ports against them in 1840, they have recently been invited to return, as mechanics and traders.

The custom of these Southern Chinese has been to pass to and fro; and, though most of the emigrants remained where they landed, thousands returned to their homes. This gradually diffused a knowledge of foreign countries and people throughout these coast regions, and made it easier for the natives to go to the Gold Hills when the report came in 1849 of the discoveries in California and Australia. A few went first to San Francisco, and their favorable reports spread through the towns around Canton, as they showed the dust they had brought. In 1854, the emigration began to assume larger proportions, and foreigners gave every facility to the emigration, as the business gave profitable employment to their ships.

The foreigners who flocked to California about 1849, and after, were desirous of getting Chinese labor, so that every immigrant soon found work. But about that

year the Cubans, Peruvians, and English were also desirous of importing Chinese laborers into their colonies ; and the ignorance of the latter of all foreign countries led them to readily infer that when once out of China they would at last reach the Gold Hills. This coolie trade, as it has been since called, was greatly aided by the free emigration to San Francisco and Melbourne ; but the two were radically different.

During the ten or twelve years ending in 1874, a marked and well-known distinction between free and contract emigration was drawn by the natives around Canton simply by the port the ship sailed from. If she cleared from Hong-kong, everybody knew that her passengers were free ; if from Macao, forty miles west of it, all knew that they were coolies—or as the native term, *chu-tsai*, *i. e.* pigs in baskets, described them—and would probably never come back. So marked had this distinction become that the Portuguese had made a term from this phrase, *chuchairo*, to denote a coolie broker. In 1873 the atrocities connected with this business had become so outrageous that the Portuguese Government, at the urgent remonstrance of the British Government, put a stop to the shipment of all contract Chinese from Macao, and brought the evils to an end. Their recital would be only a repetition of the modes in which reckless cupidity, irresponsible power, crafty misrepresentation and cunning, well-planned temptation, or outrageous violence and callousness, all united to get the advantage over ignorance, poverty, and want. The Chinese authorities at Canton issued stringent regulations to punish and restrain crimps and other agents ; but the laws were mostly a dead letter. The native kidnappers were sometimes caught by their countrymen, and put to death, with excruciating tortures, crucifixion, and burning. Still, so long as the

coolies could be shipped from Macao, the trade went on, to the terror of the community in which it thrived and the disgrace of that settlement, till it was confessed that it never could be conducted with both profit and honor.

These notices of the coolie trade are given because much has been said in the United States about the coolies brought here. It may be stated that this word *coolie* is not Chinese, but Bengalee. It was originally the name of a hill tribe in India, whose able-bodied men were wont to go down to the plains in harvest-time, just as Irish laborers cross to England at the same season and return home when it is over. The name gradually extended to all transient laborers, and in 1835 such people were hired at Calcutta (under contracts) to go to Mauritius, where laborers were needed. The application of the word to Chinese contract laborers was easy, for the term was already in use among foreigners in China for lower house servants and day laborers. These last, on their part, supposed it to be an English word, and probably the immigrants, on reaching San Francisco, ready to do any kind of labor, and not knowing many English words, so called themselves. There are three different terms in Chinese for house servants, for day laborers, and for contract coolies ; and I think that a good deal of our misapprehension as to the character of those in California has arisen from this misuse of the word.

The regions to which the coolies were carried included Cuba and Peru (where most of them landed), Jamaica, Trinidad, Demerara, Surinam, Hawaii, Brazil, and Central America. The Panama Railroad was mostly built by them, taken there in American ships. The only attempt to bring them to this country, which I have heard of, was made by some persons in New Orleans ; but

I am not aware how it succeeded. The total number of men thus carried away was probably over 300,000, of whom 142,422 landed at Havana between 1847 and 1874. Out of the whole, I do not think that 500 ever escaped or returned home ; and I am inclined to believe that over two-thirds of them all went abroad willingly, though ignorantly.

During these same years, men were going and returning from San Francisco and Melbourne, with stories of their success. The total arrivals at the former port between 1852 and 1878, according to the custom house records, was 230,430, of whom 133,491 returned home or died, leaving 96,939 in the country, not including births. "Spofforth's Almanac" for 1878 gives the arrivals in all the United States between 1855 and 1877 at 191,118. At this rate, it will probably take a century before half a million will find a footing in our wide domain, and that too against the competition of the owners and settlers of the soil and the skilled labor of our artisans. If two-fifths returned home when the land was open and calling for laborers, and the building of railroads gave work and wages to thousands of these hands, is it not as certain as a thing can be, on these facts, that the supply of workmen will be proportioned to the demand? On our eastern shores almost half a million of immigrants landed at New York in 1872 alone ; while the total number of arrivals from Europe for 30 years, ending in 1878, was 8,200,000, or more than one-sixth of our present population.

Nearly all the Chinese have come here from a strip of territory not much larger than the State of Connecticut, lying south and southwest of the city of Canton. Some alarmists said last year that myriads from the famine-stricken provinces in Northern China were to be brought to our shores ; but not an emigrant has ever sailed from



Shanghai or Tientsin for California. All have gone from Hongkong. The province of Kwangtung, of which Canton is the capital, measures 79,456 square miles, and its inhabitants speak many local dialects, which tends to crystallize them into separate communities, and has great influence on emigration, because it is only those who speak the same dialect who naturally go together. A man from Canton, meeting one from Amoy, Fuhchau, Ningpo, Tientsin, or Hankow, would be unintelligible to each of them, as they severally would be to each other; and this feature almost compels emigrants to follow the lead already opened. Thus Swatow furnishes those for Siam, Amoy does those for Manila, Kia-ying for Borneo, and five districts in the central and southwest parts of Kwangtung province were the homes of those now in Australia and the United States. Their names are Sin-hwui, Sin-ning, Kai-ping, Ngān-ping and Hiang-shan. For those coming from each of these five districts, or counties, a company has been formed in San Francisco to look after their welfare and to help them while in America. A sixth company does the same for all the immigrants from other places. The inducements and help of friends and the reports of returning miners have had great influence in stimulating their departure. Fears are entertained by some persons, however, that, if the gap thus opened in the vast population of the Chinese Empire be not stopped by limiting the number in one vessel to fifteen, or by abrogating the Burlingame Treaty, it will continue to run like a leak in a mill-dam, till we are all swamped. These are as baseless as the fear that the Indians are going to unite in a league to regain their ancestral hunting-grounds. Men do not change their homes and allegiance without adequate inducements and rewards, which are all wanting in this case.

Two or three other causes, besides the different dialects, have much influence in hindering Chinese emigration. One is their pride of country, which leads them to look upon those who go out of it as most unfortunate, running great risks of their lives, and putting themselves in the power of cruel and ignorant barbarians. Though there is now no law in force forbidding emigration, public opinion strongly discourages it, and the love of home acts against it.

A second deterrent cause is a strong sectional antipathy between the natives of different provinces, and even parts of the same province, leading them to shun each other like the clans of Scotland in the olden time. In Kwangtung, constant strifes arise between *settlers* and *squatters*, called *pun-ti* and *hak-ka*, often resulting in much loss of life. This repugnance tends to confine the immigrants to our shores to the districts near Canton. Further strong influences are at work to detain those who are in office or belong to the gentry, and those who have property or are in business. Besides these, the ties of family and claims of infirm, needy, and sick dependants compel myriads to stay. The numbers, which seem to be great here, are not missed there. Their departure or return makes no impression nor stimulates other throngs to do likewise. The men we have are the common peasantry from country districts—young and healthy, thrifty and industrious, willing to work and make their way in the world. They are neither paupers nor lepers, and certainly not criminals, for such could not get away nor obtain the aid or security needed. China has not yet learned how to dispose of her criminals this way. Most of them can read a little. Hundreds get over by borrowing money on high interest, to be repaid as they earn it, the lenders risking it on their life and habits. One hears so much

of the serfs, slaves, coolies, peons, Mongols, and such like poured on our shores, that very erroneous notions of their character prevail. One official document even described them as "voluntary slaves by the unalterable structure of their intelligent being." Complaint has been often made that the immigrants bring no families; but custom is too strong for the women to leave home to any extent. I think, when we consider how timid and ignorant they are—many of them crippled by cramping the feet—that, under the circumstances, it has been better as it is. Their sufferings would have probably been great, unable as most of them are to speak English, the objects of obloquy, and exposed to manifold temptations.

The new constitution of California gives us the intentions of the opponents of Chinese labor in Art. XIX., and shows the ignorance of its framers by the impossibility of carrying out its provisions. Some of them are in violation of the laws and constitution of the United States. "Asiatic coolieism" is prohibited; but is not defined. It was needless, however; for Asiatic coolieism had never existed in California, or any other State of the Union. It had already been declared to be illegal and piratical by Congress, and the law-makers might have fortified their position by referring to the Act approved February 19th, 1862, before inserting the following extraordinary section in the organic law of their State:

"SECT. 4. The presence of foreigners ineligible to become citizens of the United States is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the State, and the legislature shall discourage their immigration by all the means within its power. Asiatic coolieism is a form of human slavery, and is forever prohibited in this State, and all contracts for coolie labor shall be void. All companies or corporations, whether formed in this

country or any foreign country, for the importation of such labor shall be subject to such penalties as the legislature may prescribe. The legislature shall delegate all necessary power to the incorporated cities and towns of this State for the removal of Chinese without the limits of such cities and towns, or for their location within prescribed portions of those limits ; and it shall also provide the necessary legislation to prohibit the introduction into the State of Chinese after the adoption of this constitution. This section shall be enforced by appropriate legislation."

If history repeats itself, legislation does so far more frequently ; for here are the silly laws of China and mediæval Europe re-enacted in our Republic, and making new Ghettos for Chinamen near every town in California. This whole section reads more like the by-laws of a mining company, trying to keep its claim intact from the encroachments of other companies by erecting a fence around its land, than the deliberate result of a convention of wise men met to make a State constitution. It is not stated who are the foreigners ineligible to become citizens ; nor is it defined how the company formed in a foreign country for the importation of coolie labor, even before it has done anything, is to be made subject to the penalties of a California legislature ; nor how that State is going to execute laws prohibiting the introduction of Chinese into its borders, in face of a treaty between China and the United States. These points are left for the wisdom of a future legislature to attend to.

I have stated that an act of Congress is in existence prohibiting the introduction of contract laborers from China, or any other land, into the United States. In January, 1867, the following resolution unanimously passed both houses of Congress :

"*Whereas*, The traffic in laborers, transported from



China and other Eastern countries, known as the coolie trade, is odious to the people of the United States, as inhuman and immoral; and

“*Whereas*, It is abhorrent to the spirit of modern international law and policy, which have substantially extirpated the African slave-trade, to permit the establishment in its place of a mode of enslaving men differing from the former in little else than the employment of fraud, instead of force, to make its victims captive; be it, therefore,

“*Resolved*, That it is the duty of this Government to give effect to the moral sentiment of the nation, through all its agencies, for the purpose of preventing the further introduction of coolies into this hemisphere or the adjacent islands.”

This resolution was a proper expression of public opinion; but it never prevented a single coolie afterward landing at Havana or Callao, any more than its tone would lead one to suppose that a hundred thousand coolies had already landed at San Francisco, through the agency of the six companies. The opponents of Chinese immigration have so persistently declared that those who land in this country are coolies, that the burden of proof, after what has been said, must rest with them. It is not a mere question of the meaning of terms. Even so distinguished a man as Senator Blaine seems to have got the idea that the men now arriving in San Francisco are the same class of people designated in this resolution. He certainly ought, for his own credit, to have learned the facts of the case, before he accused the Chinese Government, as he did, of violating the Treaty, by declaring from his seat in the Senate, that, “in the sense in which we get immigration from Europe, there never has one Chinese immigrant come to these shores. . . . The Chinese Government agreed to enforce the provision that there should be nothing else than voluntary emigration.

They have never done it. The Treaty stands broken and defied by China from the hour it was made to the present time. We had to legislate against it. We legislated against it in the Coolie Law. The Chinese were so palpably and so flagrantly violating it, that statutes of the United States were enacted to contravene the evil they were doing; and it has gone on, probably not so grossly as before, but in effect the same."

It is enough to say, in reply to this charge of breaking the Treaty, that the Chinese authorities, both central and provincial, had passed many laws to restrain and prevent the coolie trade, and that the last act against it passed by our Congress was on February 19th, 1862, more than six years before Mr. Burlingame signed the Treaty. When that Treaty was negotiating, in July, 1868, no one at Washington brought up the charge that the Chinese Government had been for years sending coolies to California, nor were the immigrants then so generally stigmatized as serfs, coolies, peons, slaves, and Mongol hordes, for their labor was needed. I crossed the Pacific in 1860 in a ship with three hundred and sixteen Chinamen, not one of whom had a contract, and three-fourths of them came from two villages. No Chinese ship has ever yet crossed the ocean; consequently no Chinese has ever brought coolies to this country, and the blame of violating the Treaty could not rightly rest on that Government. Certainly, if there is one matter in which the American and Chinese Governments have been of one mind, it is the restriction of the coolie trade; while all the difficulties, the responsibilities, and the sufferings, too, have been on the part of the latter.

The majority of members in the Congressional Committee sent to California in 1876 were against Chinese

immigration. It obtained much evidence in support of their views ; but none of the witnesses could produce a contract for bringing a single coolie from China. I have seen thousands and thousands of these contracts in Chinese and Spanish or English, containing the terms obliging the coolies to go abroad for so many years at such wages, and their stipulations are plain and explicit.

I come now to a consideration of the Treaty which exists between China and this country. The bill which passed Congress last February, intended to restrict Chinese immigration, had this undignified feature (a solitary instance in our national legislation), that it covertly abrogated this Treaty, without even referring to its existence ; without citing an instance of its violation ; and, what was worse, without first informing the other party. Its passage was quite unexpected ; but it aroused quick remonstrances from State legislatures, from colleges, from missionary societies, from chambers of commerce, and from distinguished citizens, all alike presenting their reasons to the President against his approval.

In its Treaty with China, this nation has solemnly pledged its faith to firm, lasting, and sincere friendship with that empire ; it has promised that the people of the United States should not, for any trifling cause, insult or oppress the people of China, so as to produce an estrangement between them ; the Federal Government has covenanted that Chinese subjects in the United States should be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith ; it has asserted that there is mutual advantage from the free migration and emigration of the people of the United States and China respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purposes of curiosity, trade, or per-

manent residence ; it has specifically pledged itself that Chinese subjects residing in the United States should enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as citizens of the most favored nation ; and, finally, as if to place all stipulations in the Treaty on the highest moral basis, it invokes, in what is called the Toleration Article, as the standard of dealing between the two nations, the Christian sentiment that the principles of the Christian religion teach men to do good, to do to others as they would that others should do to them. In all these ways the Governor of Nations had beforehand placed the United States under peculiar liens toward this ancient kingdom to treat it with justice and patience. Some of the stipulations have a present application which could not have been anticipated when they were signed and ratified.

I would urge the maintenance of this Treaty, not alone on the high ground which the President takes in his veto—that it is not the function of Congress to make new treaties or modify existing ones, and “ that the denunciation of a treaty by any government is confessedly justifiable only upon some reason, both of the highest justice and of the highest necessity ”—but on the higher ground that we shall sin against right and justice if we do not. The highest expression of a nation's voice is in its treaties ; they form almost the only declaration of its honor which other nations can appeal to. The denunciation of the conduct of the last king of Judah, for his violation of his covenant with the king of Babylon, stands on the sacred page as the highest attestation of the sacred character of such compacts. Says the prophet Ezekiel, speaking of king Zedekiah's conduct :



“ Seeing he despised the oath by breaking the covenant, when, lo, he had given his hand, and hath done all these things, he shall not escape. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head.”

I do not doubt that these words carry much weight with them still as a word of warning; and I believe that there is moral strength and principle in the people of this land quite sufficient to maintain what they have promised in the treaty with China.

The government of that empire has uniformly admitted its obligations; and, considering its great difficulties, has creditably fulfilled them. The four treaties signed at Tientsin in 1858 were, no doubt, obtained under great fear and pressure; but their stipulations placed international intercourse between the East and the West on a definite footing, and their operation has been to teach the secluded rulers of China both their own rights and their duties toward other nations. Great progress was shown, eleven years after, in sending Mr. Burlingame on a complimentary embassy to the powers with whom the Emperor had made treaties.

When the embassy reached Washington, it was received with great *eclat*. Among other things done during its stay was the negotiation of eight additional articles to the existing Treaty, by plenipotentiaries of the two governments, who signed them on the 28th of July, 1868. They were ratified by the Senate a few days afterward, and then forwarded to Peking, to be ratified by the Emperor, even before they had been submitted to his perusal. This was not done till the 23d of November, 1869.

Considering the circumstances under which the first or Reed Treaty was signed, those attending the second

were indicative of great and real progress in the intervening ten years. Its fifth article relates to emigration from either country, and has drawn great attention in and out of Congress, as if it stood in the way of our ridding ourselves of an unbearable evil in the crowds of Chinese who had thereby been induced to come to this country. It reads :

“The United States of America and the Empire of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties join, therefore, in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subject to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country without their free and voluntary consent, respectively.”

The leading idea in this article is to discourage the coolie trade, and this public declaration of our Government as to the difference between it and voluntary emigration was not supposed to have any other meaning. It is hard to see, moreover, how the declaration of an inalienable right of all men should be supposed to encourage or hinder its exercise ; it could not have incited emigration, for I am sure that not one in a hundred of the Chinese who have landed here ever saw it in their own country. Says Gov. Morton, the chairman of the Congressional Committee :

“When this Treaty was concluded with China, it was

regarded by the whole nation as a grand triumph of American diplomacy and principles; and Mr. Burlingame was regarded as a benefactor of his country by having secured to Americans the protection of the Chinese Government and the right to live there and trade, and for having secured from China a recognition of what may be called the great American doctrine of the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and his allegiance. For the recognition of this doctrine we had been struggling by negotiation ever since we had a national existence, and had succeeded with them one by one. Within the last eight years we have secured its recognition by Germany and other European states that had long held out against us."

I need not quote from the recorded views of Gov. Morton on the backward step this country has been urged to take in regard to Chinese immigration, by adopting the very policy China itself is forsaking. That opinion would have been even more decided if he had lived to join in the Congressional debate of last winter, and record his vote in the Senate against the bill.

The passage of this bill at that time drew public attention to the treaty rights of the Chinese, and the people sustained the veto of President Hayes, as a judicious, sound, and timely refusal to yield to a sectional demand to go back on a lifelong policy in regard to immigration. That veto saved this Republic from one of the most uncalled-for wrongs to its national reputation, in repudiating a solemn treaty, in fact, if not in form, without mentioning a single instance in the bill of the wrongdoing of the other party, as was done in 1798, when the treaty with France was abrogated by Congress, and without first stating to the Chinese our own case. It would have been hard for us to have made out a grievance. We would never have done so toward a strong nation, and it was entirely unnecessary to do it toward

a weak one. The new constitution of California has, however, supplemented the bill by the following sections :

“No corporation now existing or hereafter formed under the laws of this State shall, after the adoption of this constitution, employ, directly or indirectly, in any capacity, any Chinese or Mongolian. The legislature will pass such laws as may be necessary to enforce this provision.

“No Chinese will be employed on any State, county, municipal, or other public work, except in punishment for crime.”

The execution of these two sections is likely to cause some resistance on the part of corporations in that State, by their restrictions on the labor market—one of the chimerical objects of the majority of the Convention.

As another instance of unjust (if not impossible) legislation in the same direction, one where the object aimed at is almost forgotten in view of the manner in which it is to be reached, is a bill recently introduced in the Senate by Mr. Slater, of Oregon. This is what his bill forbids the hapless Chinaman to do :

“To engage in, carry on, or work at any manufacturing or mechanical business ; or to own or lease, carry on or work any mine, or to own or lease any real estate for any purpose other than that of lawful commerce and for places of residence ; or to conduct any farm, garden, vineyard, or orchard, for agricultural, horticultural, or other like purpose ; or to own, have, or keep any herd of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, or swine, for the purpose of making profit by the increase, product, or use thereof ; or to keep any hotel or restaurant for public entertainment (excepting for the use and accommodation of the citizens and subjects of



China); or to work or engage to work as mechanic, artisan, laborer, waiter, servant, cook, clerk, or messenger, or in any other kind of labor, skilled or unskilled, except for and in the employ of citizens and subjects of China lawfully engaged in commerce in the United States or traveling or residing therein."

The bill reads like an edict of Philip or Alva against heretics, for it declares that the penalty for every violation of these provisions is a fine of not less than \$100, *and* an imprisonment for not more than six months. Conviction involves a "forfeiture of all property used or invested in the prohibited business." No person or corporation can employ a Chinese in prohibited work or business, under a penalty of \$100 for each offense. Comment on such regulations could add nothing to their harshness, their impossibility, or their folly. It is true, indeed, that they have not yet the force of law, and I quote them only as an index of the kind of legislation which may be attempted at the next session in regulating the treatment of these people in the East as well as in the Pacific States.

I have endeavored to show that the Chinese are here under the strongest public sanctions of any race, and ought to be protected in their treaty rights by this nation. They began to come to the Pacific coast at the invitation of our own people, attracted there, as others were, by the search for gold. They took up the washed-out and abandoned diggings at first; but they have since continued to come and go, because there was a demand for their labor. We call them *Heathen Chinees*, and so, unhappily, they are; but they brought with them industrious and quiet habits, and during the past 27 years have added largely to the resources and wealth of this country. They have spread themselves over that and the neighboring States, wherever their

labor was wanted, and have given general satisfaction in those branches of unskilled labor for which they were fit. It is impossible to estimate the money value of this industry ; but the evidence taken by the Morton Committee proves that, without their help, many enterprises now in full operation would not have been attempted when they were much needed. Among these enterprises the Pacific Railroad stands prominent, and one of its leading managers testified that Chinese laborers had given more employment to white laborers than they could otherwise have got, and that the road could not have been completed for many years if these Asiatics had not been available. Over a million acres of tule-lands have been reclaimed, which would otherwise have lain idle to this day. Irrigating canals for farms, with dams and sluices for the mines, all owe their existence to this source. One witness stated that without Chinese aid the population of California could not be maintained at more than one-half its present amount; and in regard to the cultivation of wheat, he assured the Committee that it could not be profitably raised at all if the cost of production were increased. I was told that in September, 1876, about 400,000 bushels were ready for the sickle, and that this crop could not have been moved unless Chinese laborers had been there to put it on board ship at a cheap rate. The only thing to be done with it was to let it rot or burn it. The ramifications of labor are so great that every one must see that it is nearly impossible to separate out one branch from all the others, and that to place the benefits of Chinese labor at a figure like \$300,000,000 or \$400,000,000 is to deceive one's self as to its true value. It is the way, however, that "we are ruined by cheap Chinese labor."

How fallacious, therefore, are the statements in the

California Senate Address by which its writers try to prove the loss to the country caused by this immigration. They roundly assert that the Chinese laborers make a draft upon the wealth of the nation, take from instead of adding to its substance, and have abstracted from California alone not less than \$180,000,000 in gold, while they have contributed nothing to the State or national wealth, and prevent a more desirable class of settlers coming. An estimate is then made that 125,000 male European immigrants would have enriched the State at least \$380,000,000, in which total is included the \$180,000,000 carried home by the Chinese. In this singular sum in political economy, the capital value of so many European immigrants who had not yet landed in the State is set over against the actual earnings of as many Chinese, not one of whom could have got a cent to carry home until his labor made it and left its equivalent behind him. If, too, they carried it and themselves home, could not the writers see that just so many vacant places were left for the more desirable class? The very reason alleged against the Chinese carrying their earnings home is, therefore, incompatible with the fear expressed by the writers of the unarmed invasion impending from Asia. The impulse which led the immigrants to return should, in fairness, have been stated as a reason why there was little to fear as to their coming in vast numbers. But the one-sidedness of this Address is apparent throughout. If, however, the 125,000 European immigrants who, if the Chinese had never come, would have enriched the State nearly \$400,000,000, have helped to enact the new constitution now in force, some of the American inhabitants may think that their presence has not been all clear gain.

The main arguments of those who have denounced the Chinese have been founded a good deal upon par-

tial statements of facts which are not denied, and an exaggeration of evils which have been caused in a good measure by the bad treatment the Chinese have received. An instance of this mode of argument appears in this Address, where it describes the expected "unarmed invasion" which is to overwhelm the Pacific slope, and to resist which the Senatorial Committee calls upon this nation for help :

"Already, to the minds of many, this immigration begins to assume the nature and proportions of a dangerous, unarmed invasion of our soil. Twenty years of increasing Chinese immigration will occupy the entire Pacific coast, to the exclusion of the white population. Many of our people are confident that the whole coast is yet to become a mere colony of China. All the old empires have been conquered by armed invasions ; but North and South America and Australia have been wrested from their native inhabitants by peaceable, unarmed invasions. Nor is this fear entirely groundless as to the Pacific coast, for it is in keeping with the principles which govern the changes of modern dynasties and the advance guard is already upon our shores. The immigration which is needed to offset and balance that from China is retarded by the condition of the labor question on this coast, and we have reason to expect that within ten years the Chinese will equal the whites. In view of these facts, thousands of our people are beginning to feel a settled exasperation—a profound sense of dissatisfaction with the situation. Hitherto this feeling has been restrained and the Chinese have had the full protection of our laws. It may be true that at rare intervals acts of violence have been committed towards them ; but it is also true that punishment has swiftly followed. Our city criminal courts invariably inflict a severer punishment for offenses committed upon Chinese than for like offenses committed against whites. The people of this State have been more than patient. We are satisfied that the condition of affairs, as they exist in San Francisco, would not be



tolerated without a resort to violence in any Eastern city. It is the part of wisdom to anticipate the day when patience may cease, and by wise legislation avert its evils. Impending difficulties of this character should not in this advanced age be left to the chance arbitrament of force. These are questions which ought to be solved by the statesman and philanthropist, and not by the soldier."

It has been by such a mixture of facts, fears, and assertions that much of the ill-will against the Chinese has been fostered. Its influence has probably been greater than that of any other document issued; for it is signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee, and few of its readers have the means of verifying or examining its statements. The single fact, however, that less than 120,000 Chinese, at the highest estimate, even now remain in our borders, indicates the little depth and force of this unarmed invasion.

This Address was fully answered December 8th, 1877, by a Memorial from the Six Companies addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives, containing statements drawn from public documents, and proofs of its inaccuracy, which could not be denied. The amounts of poll and other taxes paid by the Chinese in the State were far beyond the proportion paid by other inhabitants, especially in the miner's tax. Every page of this Memorial bears evidence of the carefulness with which it was written, in view of the scrutiny which would assail its assertions. It has borne the examination; but in the Eastern States it has not been made known as widely as the Address. The contrast between the writers and the objects, arguments, and animus of the two documents is one of the most singular and instructive in the history of the American people. The charges brought against the British Crown by our

fathers in the Revolution, detailing the bad treatment experienced by the colonists, did not compare with the injustice and wrongs which have been suffered by the Chinese under the laws of California.

In face of the assertion just quoted from the Address, as to the "severer punishment inflicted upon those who attacked the Chinese," I abridge a sentence or two of the argument of Mr. Bee, spoken before the Morton Committee, in 1876, about a year before the Address was issued :

"I regret exceedingly, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, to bring to your notice scenes and acts which have transpired upon the streets of San Francisco, which are a disgrace to any and all civilization. No country, no government, I undertake to say, has ever permitted the indignities to be cast upon any race of people that the government and municipality of San Francisco and California have permitted upon this class. I have myself seen one of the Pacific Mail steamships hauled into dock in this city, loaded with 1,000 or 1,500 Chinese. They were put into express wagons, to be taken to the Chinese quarter ; and I have seen them stoned from the time they landed till they reached Kearney Street, leaning out of the wagons with their scalps cut open. I have seen them stoned when going afoot from the vessel. No arrests were made, no police interfered. I do not recollect of ever an arrest being made when the hoodlums and street Arabs attacked these immigrants. I say it with shame, that they have no privileges, and do not seem to have the protection of the laws extended to them in any particular."

This treatment by the hoodlums of that city was corroborated by a clergyman who was giving one reason for the few conversions among the Chinese, and there seems to have been no efforts made by the police to restrain such wrong-doers. The writers of the Memo-

rial, in view of these facts, most justly ask the question :

“Where is your boasted independence, when an agrarian mob dictates what kind of labor you must employ? Where is your boasted freedom of speech, when a daily press dare not discuss both sides of a question or speak a word in favor of an abused and persecuted stranger? Where is that liberty your fathers fought for, that a mob, led by aliens, can undisturbed hold their daily gatherings, and threaten to hang your best citizens, burn their property, and denounce them as thieves? And where does this lawless element look for encouragement, but to that class which occupies a higher political plane, whose exaggerated opinions concerning the Chinese we have quoted.”

This memorial also refers to Gov. Irwin's assertion in his message that the Chinaman has had his rights adjudicated in the courts with the same fairness that other immigrants have had theirs; and then asks, What justice was meted out at Antioch, at Truckee, at Rocklin, Penryn, and Secret Ravine, when the property of Chinese was destroyed, they shot down as they tried to escape, and all driven away? They ask if one of the actors in the July riots of 1877 in San Francisco, when their property was destroyed and a Chinese murdered for defending his domicile, and his body thrown into the flames, has ever been punished.

These accusations, charges, rejoinders, etc., all indicate the existence of serious antagonism in the society of the Pacific States. What are their causes? The strength and violence of this antagonism have been fostered by some peculiar circumstances; and, as evils never cure or weaken themselves, we do well to look at their workings in the light of such facts as are before us.

To my own mind, there is no fear of a great or irresistible immigration, and the reasons for its increase are less now than when the country was first opened. Thirty years have passed since the providence of God placed this region under the control of a Protestant nation, and, by disclosing its metallic treasures, after its sovereignty had been secured, attracted a population with such rapidity that California alone of all our States was never a colony or a territory, but arose at once from its military sway to be a fully organized State. That population was so ill assorted, too, that its reckless, lawless elements soon became too strong for the law-abiding portion, and the Vigilance Committee was the only remedy to save the State from anarchy. With hundreds of convicts, escaped from Australia, came hundreds of "moon-eyed Celestials," as the Chinese were called. A greater contrast was hardly ever seen between two classes of immigrants. No power was in the hands of the latter, and they were long exposed to discriminating legislation, the object of special laws which taxed away their property without their being allowed any voice in the matter. As soon as a law of the State had declared that a Chinese was an Indian, and its courts affirmed it, he was in reality outlawed. In 1852, Governor Bigler said there was no provision in the Treaty with China how Chinese immigrants should be treated, and that the Chinese Government would have no right to complain of any law excluding them from the country, by taxation or otherwise. This was before the date of the Burlingame Treaty; but while an act of the California legislature could not turn a Chinese into an Indian, any more than an act of Congress could turn a greenback into a piece of gold, it could prevent their evidence being taken in court; it could prevent their fishing or mining, their taking up



land or settling on it ; it could prevent their becoming citizens ; and it did expose them, without remedy, to the most unjust treatment.

The summary manner in which the courts in California converted the Chinese into Indians, when it was desired to bring a law to bear against them, has a spice of the grotesque in it. The physiologist Charles Pickering, includes Chinese and Indians among the members of the Mongolian race ; but the Supreme Court there held " that the term Indian included the Chinese or Mongolian race." It thus upheld a wrong, while it enunciated a misconception. It placed the subjects of the oldest government now existing upon a parity with a race that has never risen above tribal relations. It included under one term a people whose literature dates its beginning before the Psalms or the Exodus, written in a language which the judge would not have called Indian, if he had tried to learn it, and containing authors whose words have influenced more human beings than any other writings, with men whose highest attainments in writing have been a few pictures and totems drawn on a buffalo robe. It equalized all the qualities of industry, prudence, skill, learning, invention, and whatever gives security to life and property among mankind, with the instincts and habits of a hunter and a nomad. It stigmatized a people which has taught us how to make porcelain, silk, and gunpowder, given us the compass, shown us the use of tea, and offers us their system of selecting officials by competitive examinations, by classing them with a race which has despised labor, has had no arts, schools, or trade, and in the midst of the Californians themselves were content to dig roots for a living.

The anomalies growing out of our present laws relating to naturalization are such as to allow the authori-

ties in one State of the Union to give the Chinese citizenship within its borders, while those of another State may refuse it. The first has been done in New York, the latter is the rule in California. In 1878, Judge Sawyer of the U. S. Circuit Court for the District of California, rendered a decision on this point, quoting Sect. 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, "that the provisions of this title (33) shall apply to aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." He decided that Chinese are not by law entitled to naturalization in this country because they are not white persons within the meaning of the statute, and that the intention of Congress was to exclude from naturalization "all but white persons and persons of African nativity and African descent." This decision would, therefore, properly exclude all Malays, Siamese, Burmese, Hindus, and Arabs, but it is an open and doubtful question whether it would exclude all Chinese and Japanese. The Chinese now in this country are more swarthy than their northern countrymen, for they come from just within the tropics; but that people occupy a million and more square miles lying in the temperate zone, and those living in the northern provinces are about as white as Europeans on the same latitude; both are more nearly olive than white. Three times has this question been decided in the courts of California in like manner "that the term *Indian* included the Chinese or Mongolian race;" but it is high time that a question in ethnology and national hue should be examined carefully and settled on some basis before a judicial sentence carries with it such consequences.

When all this was done by those in power, then they declare that the Chinese will not assimilate with us.

Senator Blaine describes the result, after the two races have been living side by side for more than thirty years, as not one step toward it ; but he omits to mention the feelings which have flowed from thirty years' ill-treatment, as tending to strengthen the divergence.

Some might reply that this was only a fair return for the opprobrious epithets which their countrymen and rulers have given to all foreigners for hundreds of years and the ill-usage and the restrictions which these epithets indicated ; but the times of that ignorance we can well afford to wink at, for they are passing away, and it is quite too late to use such arguments for our vindication. We are now mutually learning that there is far more of worth and promise in each other than either had supposed ; and I believe, after forty-three years' intercourse with the lowest and highest classes, that only a wider knowledge is needed to cause a higher appreciation. It is reasonable, therefore, that a different status be given them, and now, that a Chinese legation has been received at Washington, and a Chinese consul accepted for San Francisco, it is suitable that the countrymen of Yung Wing and Seet Mingcook be no longer classed with Sioux and Pawnees.

Their helpless condition before the law in early times in California made them easy victims to violence. It stimulated the robberies, murders, ejections, and assaults which ere long became so barefaced that a member of the legislature at Sacramento used them as an argument for allowing the Chinese to testify in courts, because otherwise white persons would be exposed to similar violence.

"The wretches who committed these atrocities," as the Rev. Dr. Speer, in his valuable work, says, "felt secure under a threefold cover. First, comparatively few of the Chinese could speak English or knew how

to obtain justice. In the next place, the officers of justice were too often under the control of the men who committed the offense, nominated and elected by them, and the villains let it be known that they would vote against any man who favored the Chinese. Lastly, these strangers have not been allowed to speak in an American court, and say : This was the man who shot down my brother in cold blood, and robbed his dying body of the gold for which he had been toiling for years, to send it home to make more happy the old age of our parents." Such things as these compelled a change.

One of these three disabilities still lies very much at the root of the whole question—viz., the inability to speak and read the English language. Its natural effect has been to drive the Chinese into closer compact amongst themselves, to strengthen the clannish feelings which would urge each aggrieved person to seek aid against his enemy from those who could hear his complaints, and to make him more thoroughly an alien by the feeling that he had been outraged without the hope of redress. This ignorance was insurmountable in the great portion of the immigrants, for they were too poor to spend their time in learning our language properly, and were too old to talk it intelligibly.

One result, too, was to throw great responsibility on the Six Companies, through whom the immigrants tried and did generally find counsel and aid. These companies have been the objects of more unjust charges, vituperation, and unfounded suspicion than any one can imagine who has not read what has been alleged against them. Yet I do not see how we could have got on, as the case has been, without them. What could have been done, otherwise, with thousands of active, young, and well-disposed men landing at San Fran-



cisco, not one of whom could read a word of English, and few of them talk it, yet each man eager to work as soon as he knew where? If the municipality of that city, seeing the facts of the case, had encouraged a few Americans to study the written language, and talk the Cantonese dialect, and had employed them as official interpreters and translators, to inform the immigrants of their duties, privileges, taxes, and other important points, the latter would have been ushered into their new condition with some idea of its requirements. Such a thing seems never to have been thought of as a practical end, and the Chinese were left to be looked after by the Six Companies alone. Whatever the managers of those companies might say respecting their organization, rules, and actual operations toward their countrymen, it seems as if it all went for nothing in the eyes of their detractors. The Address just referred to says, speaking of "our ignorance of the Chinese language," that "the great mass of the Chinese residents of California are not amenable to our laws; but are governed by secret tribunals, unrecognized by law, formed by the several Chinese companies, which are recognized as legitimate authorities by the Chinese population. They levy taxes, command masses of men, intimidate interpreters and witnesses, enforce perjury, regulate trade, punish the refractory, remove witnesses beyond the reach of our courts, control liberty of action, and prevent the return of the Chinese to China without their consent. In short, they exercise a despotic sway over one-seventh of the population of California."

If these allegations are true, it is no credit to a State to allow such things to go on, and plead "our ignorance of the Chinese language" as a reason for not breaking up companies who did them. The writers speak as if

the Legislature, which they represented by their committee, had no voice or responsibility in the matter. When, therefore, the companies deny the charges, and assure us that they never had organized or secret tribunals to administer justice in this country, and that many misunderstandings and difficulties they have settled among themselves, in the way of arbitration, we are disposed to believe them. The Rev. Dr. Speer's account of their design, given in Chap. XIX. of his valuable work, called "China and the United States," would have shown these writers how they grew out of the necessities of the case and what has been their practical operation during the past twenty-eight years. He justly calls them "institutions which have no parallel for utility and philanthropy among the immigrants from any other nation or people to our wide shores." Since he wrote his work the wider dispersion of the immigrants and their greater knowledge of English has limited the action of the companies as it has lessened their need.

With all these sources of information open to him, it is somewhat mortifying to read the answer of Mr. Blaine to Senator Matthew's request for his proofs of the manner, degree, and extent to which the Chinese Government is responsible for the establishment of the Six Companies for the purposes of immigration. Mr. Blaine replies :

"That I do not know. The secrets of the Chinese empire are past finding out. I do not know what sort of agency they have from the government. They have some, undoubtedly, and they retain it. They are, in a certain sense, agents of the Chinese Government for the importation of this coolie population."

Mr. Sargent was equally loose in his assertions, and,

like his colleague from Maine, felt that the Treaty was in the way of passing the bill before the Senate. He said :

“The Burlingame Treaty ought to be cut up by the roots, in fact, as all these treaties should be. There is no reciprocity in them. We are allowed to enter but five ports in China. An American traveling in the interior of China has to do it upon a passport, and that is difficult to obtain. The Chinese come here by the hundred thousands, travel over this country, and do as they please. By the Chinese census only five hundred and forty-one Americans are in all China. Our citizens can only go in at certain ports and are impeded in their passage through the country.”

A reply to one count in this singular charge, and this statesmanlike reason for cutting up a treaty by the roots, could have been found if he had read the Reed Treaty, where seven open ports are enumerated, and since it was signed in 1858 eleven more have been opened. The passport system was pressed upon the Chinese plenipotentiaries by foreign envoys, as the best means of protecting the natives against reckless foreigners, and the passports are all issued by their own ministers and consuls. I have myself issued many to Americans citizens, and they can go everywhere they please, though in many districts a lawless population makes travel sometimes dangerous to persons not knowing the language ; not nearly so dangerous, however, as it used to be for Chinese traveling in California. Once more, the Chinese have never taken a census of foreigners, and why the fact (if it be one) that only five hundred and forty-one Americans are in all China is an argument for abrogating the Treaty needs some clearer explanation.

Honorable Senators who make such random state-

ments do more than merely weaken the arguments deduced from them in support of their cause ; and if they had inquired at the Chinese Legation in Washington they could have learned the truth. It may seem to many to be a trifling matter anyway ; but the reputation of this Republic for honorable dealing is not a trifling matter to those who now hear me, and this aspersion of the Chinese Government recoils on ourselves if the charges cannot be sustained.

President Woolsey says, in section 18 of his " International Law : "

" The honor or reputation of a State is equally its right ; and the injury done by violations of this right will seem very great when we consider the multitudes who suffer in their feelings from a national insult, and the influence of the loss of a good name upon intercourse with other states, as well as upon that self-respect which is an important element in national character."

The real reason why so much has been said about this Treaty, it seems to me, is because the opponents of the Chinese were unwilling to squarely propose a law contrary to all the declarations of the American people as to the asylum they offer to the people of other lands. But the Treaty really has had no perceptible effect on their coming. It merely quotes the inherent right of man to change his home and allegiance—as if it was properly higher than a Treaty stipulation—not so much to qualify it, as a reason for taking measures to prevent its notorious abuses in the coolie trade. The Emperor of China is as helpless to prevent his subjects leaving their native land as Congress and President Hayes together are to keep Americans at home. President Woolsey says : " The right of emigration is inalienable. Only self-imposed or unfulfilled obligations can restrict it." He also shows that a government is no more jus-



tified in prohibiting a subject from emigrating, than it would be in prohibiting a foreign sojourner from doing the same. It is an old right, too, for it was inserted in Magna Charta, and claimed then not only for natives, but foreign traders also; and if the Emperor of China is respectable enough among the potentates of the earth for this Government to make a treaty with, why should we hesitate to grant him the rights and courtesies involved in it?

It is plain that the struggle over the Chinese question on the Pacific Coast is only another form of the labor question; and that question is not to be adjusted by the puerile policy of limiting the number of immigrants in one ship from China to 15, while 1,500 may come from Japan, Siam, or any other country. The main features of this question were illustrated by an incident which was reported when I was in San Francisco. A patriotic American employed an Irishman to saw a load of wood for a dollar, and he was soon after seen quietly smoking, as he watched a Chinaman doing the job for twenty-five cents. In this epitome of labor and capital who would blame either of the three parties; or who could restrain them with any justice; or how long would it be before the intermediary smoker became a laborer or a capitalist?

The adoption of the new constitution of California has placed this great issue between capital and labor on a new ground, by making State laws against express treaty stipulations. Politics have also been mixed up with it, for the Chinese in that State are of no value in politics; but the Irish are worth much to those who please them. It is a very high compliment to the former that they have stood such tests during the past years. What other class can show so small a proportion of inmates of the prisons, alms-houses, and other reformatory

places? What other class would have submitted to such taxation? The miner's tax, the laundry tax, the fishing tax, the school tax, the immigrant's poll tax, the 500-cubic-feet-of-air-law, the queue ordinance, and that regulating the removal of coffins, are the names of various discriminating State or local acts (probably most of them now repealed), by which the Chinese have been fleeced. It was once even proposed to vaccinate every immigrant, at a charge of \$30, in order to protect the State against small-pox! Mr. Bee shows that before the miner's tax was repealed in 1862, it was estimated that it had taken over \$31,000,000 out of the earnings of Chinese miners, from whom it had been mostly levied. A recent decision of the United States Supreme Court has awarded \$10,000 damages for cutting off the queue of a Chinese by the sheriff, in accordance with the city ordinance. In delivering his opinion in the case, Mr. Justice Field characterizes it as special legislation against a class of persons, being intended only for the Chinese in San Francisco, and avowed to be so by the supervisors there, who urged its adoption and continuance as a means of inducing a Chinaman to pay his fine. He properly adds: "It is not creditable to the humanity and civilization of our people, much less to their Christianity, that an ordinance of this character was possible;" and says further: "It is legislation unworthy of a brave and manly people."

The conduct of these immigrants is, of course, to be judged by their early education and moral training in a heathen land; not absolutely, but in connection with their standards of morals and usages of society. I do not need to describe their personal habits, nor would I extenuate their moral character; their proneness to lying and gambling, or their destructive habit of opium smoking. No doubt hundreds of needy sharpers have

landed with the intention of preying upon their thrifty countrymen and living by their wits ; but, on the other hand, I can refer to the students now in New England to prove that some can appreciate our civilization and assimilate to our teachings. The reports of various reformatory and penal institutions in California furnish some data for a judgment. Out of 95,000 Chinese in California, 198 were in State-prison in 1877, while 347 whites were there. In twelve years 711 natives of Ireland were committed, and 750 natives of China ; but the adult Irish population was only 35,000, or about one-third of the other. In the Industrial School were four Chinese, among 225 others in the year 1875. In the alms-house, out of 498 inmates that year, not one Chinese, but 197 Irish ; while in 1878 one Chinese was admitted, and 175 Irish. In the hospital report for 1875, out of 3,918 inmates, only 11 were Chinese and 1,308 Irish ; in 1878, out of 3,007 admissions, 948 were Irish and 6 were Chinese. In the pest-house there were 22, none of them Chinese. The arrests for drunkenness in San Francisco alone for the year ending June 30th, 1878, were 6,127, not one of whom was a Chinese. Out of 4,977 deaths in the same place and time, 496 Chinese and 693 Irish are enumerated.

Yet, in face of these figures and facts, which are drawn from public documents, the following conclusions respecting the immigrants are put forth in the Address :

“ The evidence demonstrates beyond cavil that nearly the entire immigration consists of the lowest orders of the Chinese people, and mainly of those having no homes or occupations on the land, but living in boats on the rivers, especially those in the vicinity of Canton. It would seem to be a necessary consequence flowing from this class of immigration that a large proportion of criminals should be found among it ; and this deduc-

tion is abundantly sustained by the facts before us, for of 545 foreign criminals in our State-prison 198 are Chinese, while the jails and reformatories swarm with the lower grade of malefactors."

The singular assertion here made as to the origin of the immigrants—that most of them have no homes or occupations on land, but live in boats near Canton, accounting for their criminality by their locality—is an entire mistake. The fact and the inference are equally out of the way. It would, however, be useless to indicate all such misstatements.

The conduct and condition of these people would, I am sure, have been far worse than these figures indicate, if it had not been for the untiring efforts of Christian men and women around them. These efforts have been going on for nearly thirty years, and only those who have lived in California can appreciate the perseverance, the patience, the care, and the faithfulness shown by many unpaid teachers in Sabbath and evening schools, as well as others belonging to and conducting more regular mission work. Statistics do not convey a just idea of the results of this benevolent work, which has largely been of that preventive and reformatory nature that helps men to be better, and keeps them out of jails and saloons, to the great advantage of society. Coming directly from their native hamlets in Kwangtung across the ocean, into a city where they were the objects of insults and obloquy; unable to talk an intelligible sentence of English, even if they could read their own tongue; not a law of the land translated into it to guide them, they naturally huddled together in their own quarter for safety and society. As they left San Francisco to seek work in the country, these kind friends of whom I speak found them out, and began to teach them English, by telling them the old, old story, which never



wears out. They thus became acquainted with the highest truths and the best rules for conduct, while fitting themselves for such work as they could find, by learning to talk and read English. Their teachers felt that God in his providence had brought them to our shores for some other, higher end than merely to be our Gibeonites, and well have they performed their work. While the legislators of California seem to have exhausted their wisdom in divising, from time to time, all the contrivances to tax and fine these people which could be brought to bear on them, their real friends were opening schools and meetings, and showing them wherein the true glory of this land consisted.

Every person who learned even a little of the truths of our holy faith from these benevolent efforts would be all the more likely to prove a good member of society.

If that excellent man, Gov. Seymour, had seen these efforts to teach the Chinese, and their results of a preventive and elevating nature, he would not, I am sure, declare that there has been no assimilation, that the race is alien to our institutions, and that their presence here in small numbers is dangerous. He would have borne in mind that everything had been done to hinder their assimilation, preventing them by law from becoming citizens, and then making them ineligible to enter the schools which would fit them to be citizens, even though they paid taxes for those schools.

The record of these efforts is contained in many reports ; but the best digest I have seen of their results is in Rev. Otis Gibson's recent publication issued in Cincinnati, called "*Chinese in America*," which I can recommend to all who are desirous to learn the truth on this subject. From this book and later sources the following figures have been gathered :

|                                                               |       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Total average attendance at evening schools for Chinese. .... | 825   |
| Total roll-call .....                                         | 2,750 |
| In Sunday-schools, average.....                               | 1,100 |
| Roll-call of Sunday-schools.....                              | 3,300 |
| Chinese baptized in United States.....                        | 400   |
| Native churches in Presbyterian Mission.....                  | 2     |
| Chinese pastors, teachers, and helpers.....                   | 15    |

A Chinese Young Men's Christian Association exists in San Francisco, with members and branches over the country. The number which has openly ceased from idolatry is not known ; but must be over 5,000. The contributions from members for maintaining these efforts are daily increasing. It is perhaps not irrelevant to the general question to add that \$12,000 were sent last year by the Chinese on that coast to relieve the sufferers from yellow-fever in the Southern States.

Into the difficult subject of wages I will not enter. So far as I can learn, the unskilled Chinese laborer gets as much on the Pacific coast as his compeer gets on this side for the same work, and the prices of food and clothing there are less. In their cry against Chinese labor the workingmen in California unconsciously put themselves below their competitors in the race of endurance, skill, and value in the battle of progress ; while all the advantages of position, power, language, machinery, and priority are on their side. Charges are made that this influx brings with it a flood of vice ; but where can we find the laboring community in all that region which has been heathenized by their contact with the Chinese ? Have the Mormons or the Irish been made any worse or different from the presence of these people ?

Even the recent Congressional Committee, under Mr. Wright's chairmanship, in its visit to California, where it spent four days, found that the labor question

was the prominent one connected with this subject. Farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, peddlers, miners, and workmen, all agreed that they could not hold their own against the Chinaman; and, without intending anything of the sort, they bore the strongest testimony in favor of the skill, business capacity, industry, patience, endurance, and frugality of the Chinese.

In fact, it is with their good qualities that most fault seems to be found. Whether these good qualities are so undesirable that immigrants possessing them ought to be excluded from the country is a question not for Congress and the Government alone, which so recently brought us to the doing of a national wrong, but for the common-sense and equity of the people at large. These qualities, therefore, should have their due prominence in our estimate of the bearings of the immigration.

If they find no demand for their labor, no remuneration for their outlay, they will not come. They are not held at home as serfs by feudal barons or great landholders; they are not oppressed there, nor compelled to work in mines, factories, or penitentiaries; they are in no particular danger of starving, from which and other evils they hope to escape by running away to America. China suffers much from the evils of ignorance, poverty, idolatry, licentiousness, cruelty, and unjust administration of laws, and I would not keep back any of their vices. Those now here have, on the whole, I believe, found no reason to regret their venture. In the ease with which they go and come lies one of the benefits they are to derive from mingling with us; and also one of the strong reasons for believing that the immigration will never become an invasion.

I prefer to see the hand of God in the way in which the millions of China and Japan are being gradually brought out of their long seclusion and ignorance into

a knowledge of and participation of the benefits existing in Christian lands. Those two kingdoms and our own land cannot keep apart, and our intercourse will prove mutually beneficial, if we only treat their people in the same manner as we ask them to treat us. Mutual wants will beget the desires and means of growing exchanges, and, as we stand now in good relations, we have it in our power to do them lasting benefits.

The laws of California declare that the Chinese are Indians and aliens, and her legislators have treated them as if they had no rights which we were bound to respect. As I believe that the most complete way to settle our chronic difficulties with the Indians is no longer to regard them as aliens and treat them as wards or children, but in every legitimate way to induce and help them to become fit for citizens, so I would set this goal before the Chinese. As soon as they have an adequate knowledge of English and a certain amount of property, give them citizenship, if they desire it. An alien race is properly declared to be dangerous to the State, and the only way to remove or neutralize the danger, therefore, is by making such residents eligible for citizenship. The right to become citizens will stimulate great numbers of the Chinese to fit themselves for it, and there are now about 2,000 of them born in this land who ought not and cannot justly be debarred.

I close this paper by a quotation abridged from Senator Morton's views, written after he had returned from California. It expresses the deliberate opinion of a competent observer on this point :

"The limitation of the right to become naturalized to white persons was placed in the law when slavery was a controlling influence in our Government, was maintained by the power of that institution, and is now



retained by the lingering prejudices growing out of it. After having abolished slavery and established equal political rights, without regard to race or color, it would be inconsistent and unsound policy to renew and reassert the prejudices against race by excluding the people of Asia from our shores. It would be to establish a new governmental policy upon the basis of color and a different form of civilization. In California the antipathy to the Mongolian race, though differing in its reasons and circumstances of its exhibition, belongs still to the class of antipathies springing from race and religion. As Americans, standing upon the great doctrines of our polity, and seeking to educate the masses into their belief, and extending equal rights and protection to all races and conditions, we cannot now safely take a new departure, which in another form shall resurrect the odious distinctions which brought upon us a civil war. If the Chinese were white people, though in all other respects what they are, I do not believe that the complaints and warfare made against them would have existed to any great extent. As the law stands, they cannot be naturalized, and I do not know that any proposition has been made to change it. The question is whether they shall be permitted to come here to work or trade, to acquire property or to follow any pursuit. I think they cannot be protected in the Pacific States while remaining in their alien condition. Without representation in the legislature or Congress, without a voice in the selection of officers, surrounded by fierce and in many respects unscrupulous enemies, the law will be found insufficient to screen them from persecution. Complete protection can be given them only by allowing them to become citizens and acquire the right of suffrage. Then their votes would become important and their persecutors in great part converted into kindly solicitors. In considering any proposition to prohibit Chinese immigration, we have to remember that they come entirely from the British port of Hong-kong. Our refusal to permit a Chinaman to land, who had embarked at a British port upon a British vessel, would be a question with the British Government, and

not the Chinese. The fact that he was a Chinaman, who had never sworn allegiance to that Government, would not change the question."

His short sojourn in California did not afford Senator Morton opportunity to study all the points in the Chinese question, and the underlying one of difference of language is quite left out in this view. Time alone can remove much of the trouble by raising up Chinese who can easily teach their countrymen English enough to get along, as they teach them other things. The question which asks for solution now is : How can we remove the present irritation? Considering how the Chinese have been treated, it is creditable to them that they have given so little provocation or resistance to law. The facts prove that they have been a benefit to the Pacific States, with all the drawbacks alleged against their presence. I can see no more effectual way to remove strife than to remove legal disabilities, treat them as we do other immigrants, and defend them, if need be, in the possession of rights guaranteed them by treaty.

THIRD  
ANNUAL REPORT  
—OF THE—  
IMMIGRATION ASSOCIATION  
OF CALIFORNIA.

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18, 1884.

Office No. 10 California Street,

San Francisco.



EAGAN & CULLEN 123 CALIFORNIA ST.

1885.

# Officers of the Association, 1885.

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## OFFICERS.

|                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
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| WM. L. MERRY.....     | VICE-PRESIDENT             |
| WM. STEINHART.....    | TREASURER                  |
| C. H. STREET.....     | SECRETARY AND LAND OFFICER |

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## THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

*To the Board of Directors, Members and Contributors:*

The work begun three years ago under conditions not more auspicious, perhaps, than other similar experiments which had failed, has now become an important factor in the industrial development of this State. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that the sanguine expectations of the few, who were originally most active in the matter, have all been realized, but it may reasonably be claimed that enough has been accomplished to prove the wisdom of the effort. For some time previous to the organization of the Association the tide of immigration to this coast was restricted by influences which, to overcome, was generally regarded as a task not easily accomplished. The humiliating fact was before us that Oregon and Washington Territory were the recipients of a very large portion of the immigration to this coast, notwithstanding it was necessary for the people who were seeking homes in that portion of the country, to pass through this State. At that period the belief was quite generally expressed, that the reason for this lay in the fact that California did not offer the opportunities enjoyed by that State and by that Territory, for securing cheap and desirable homes. This was due, very largely, to the lack of knowledge in relation to our own State, and to an erroneous idea as to the merits of the country north of us; as is evidenced by the results from the work, which has been at best, but imperfectly done.

Progress is, perhaps, best shown by comparison. Comparing the record of the year just closed, with that of the two preceding years, the following facts are presented:

The cash receipts for the year ended November 18, 1884, were \$11,660.80, against \$8,555.58 for the year 1882, and \$10,448.74 for 1883. The disbursements were \$11,048.50, against \$7,331.04 for 1882, and \$10,987.05 for 1883. The balance of cash on hand at the close of the year, \$1,298.53; against \$1,224.54 for 1882 and \$686.23 for 1883. The total receipts aggregating \$30,665.12 for the three years is not a large sum with which to organize and carry forward a plan so far reaching, so intricate and important, as that of the promotion of immigration. During the year there have been printed 404,000 copies of various publications of which 233,356 have been already distributed; against 81,000 printed in 1882 and 199,150 in 1883. The number of letters received during the year aggregates 2,774; the number written, 3,181.

The register shows that 4,048 persons have visited the office during the year, representing, with their wives and children, 9,487 in all. This includes those only who seek the office for information, and not such as are mere visitors. The whole is composed principally of agriculturists. The number registered in 1882 was 958, representing about 2,000 persons; and for 1883, 3,248; representing 6,983 persons. Thus, it is seen, that the labor of the office has constantly increased, and in the most practical direction. To answer the questions of 4,048 persons; to give proper information, and to direct them intelligently where and how to secure homes is a task, involving patience, time and much knowledge of the State.

The number of passengers who have arrived in this State overland during the ten months of the current year ended October

31st, according to the records of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, aggregates—

|                                         |        |
|-----------------------------------------|--------|
| Arrivals, 10 months .....               | 47,867 |
| Departures " .....                      | 32,299 |
| Arrivals over Departures.....           | 16,568 |
| Estimated for remaining two months..... | 3,113  |
| Gain for the year.....                  | 18,681 |

These represent the through tickets sold, but do not fairly represent the immigration to the State for the year, for the reason that many persons come to the State on local tickets, and stop off before reaching San Francisco. The apparent increase in population from this source is less than for 1883; but in that year a large number merely passed through here on the way to Oregon, while for 1884 the tide has been from Oregon to California. In other words, the situation is exactly reversed.

Referring more particularly to the labor of the office, it is necessary to go somewhat into detail, in order to show how it is done, and why there is reason to believe that, to this agency is due the credit of largely stimulating immigration to the State. In addition to the correspondence from the office, through which thousands of names of agriculturists in the States east of the Rocky Mountains are obtained, and to whom printed matter is sent direct, a system of agencies on the continent of Europe has been arranged, through which a large distribution of printed matter is effected. This brings the Association into prominence with immigration, railway, and steamship agents in Europe and enables them to supply information in reference to California, to persons who are desirous of seeking homes in this country. This branch of the work, although meagre in results at first, has given evidence of constant growth, and is now a feature of importance which promises to develop at a rapidly increasing ratio from year to year. The withdrawal of the agent of the Association, who spent some months in Germany last year, is due to lack of sufficient means with which to continue

him there, and to keep up the other necessary work at home. That larger immediate results might have been realized from that source through continued personal solicitation, is quite evident; but this could only have been accomplished at the expense of other branches, which were equally important, and which it was thought unwise to neglect even temporarily. The Board of Directors has endeavored to so disburse the funds at command as to best promote the objects in view, through diversified channels, and thus keep up the interest in all directions. With larger resources a different plan might have been pursued; but it was thought best under the circumstances to pursue a conservative policy throughout, and to look carefully after each department, rather than to give special prominence to any particular interest.

Your officers have given considerable attention during the year to the publication of pamphlets relating to special districts, which has involved much research, in order that the information distributed should be of a reliable and specific character. This, with a general supervision of the work as a whole, demands constant attention, and calls for the exercise of no little watchfulness and discretion.

The plan of meeting incoming immigrants before they reach this city, which was inaugurated last year, has been continued during the year just closed. An agent goes daily to Port Costa, and from that point boards the immigrant trains. He is abundantly supplied with printed matter—in different languages—which he distributes, and in addition to this, gives such other general information as he deems necessary. This feature of the work has proved most effective. That it has been efficiently done is attested by hundreds of persons who have visited the office and expressed high appreciation of the service rendered them. Through this introduction the new comer is made to feel that he is welcome to the State, and comes to the office

with much confidence. This service could be increased to advantage.

In addition to keeping up the records of the land department, which has necessitated occasional visits to the various district land offices throughout the State, it has been found advisable to continue personal examination of lands before directing seekers to them for settlement. In the land department two employees have been engaged almost constantly during the year. This branch of the work has grown in importance from the first, and is recognized as one of the principal features of advantage over similar associations in other States. This department is in good condition, but constant labor is required to keep the records full and complete. The plan adopted about the close of last year of having an agent accompany seekers after homes to points where government land is to be obtained, has been continued throughout the year with good results. One of the principal obstacles to the work, was the difficulty in directing new comers, who in the main, are unfamiliar with the methods of finding locations. By arranging parties of ten or more the expense has been reduced to the minimum, and by combining the duties of land examiner with that of superintendent of parties—if it may be so termed—the efficiency of the service has been doubled; for who could so intelligently direct the intending settler as one who has examined the land to which his attention is directed. The Association has been most fortunate in its selection of a person for this service.

The system of platting and mapping has been kept up, and although still incomplete, the records of the office in this particular, show that much has been accomplished during the year. The scrap books of the different counties, and of the different productions of the State, which a year ago were scarcely begun, are now each a volume in themselves. These are the receptacles of such information as is found in the different newspapers published in the State with which

the office is most liberally supplied, and from which clippings are made. These scrap books are not only most interesting to new comers, but most instructive also. They are a practical history of California, and treat of almost every subject pertaining to the State.

Considerable attention has been given during the year to the sample department. A small exhibit was made at the last Mechanics' Fair held in this city. The interest manifested there induced the Board to make a permanent exhibit at the rooms of the Association. One room is now used for that purpose exclusively. Skill and taste in the arrangement of the various products have been required to supply the place of liberal expenditures. This feature is, however, one which has added greatly to the general appearance of the rooms, and has often been the means of settling the mind of the wavering seeker. In the sample room are samples of soil, cereals from all parts of the State, vegetables; fruits, green, dried and preserved; nuts, grains and grasses in the sheaf; wines and brandies; coal, stone, wood and mineral specimens; wool, cotton and silk, all distinctly labeled, giving due credit to the county, and to the contributor when known. These object lessons, in their novelty and variety, are substantial proofs of the statements made of the wonderful resources of the State, which many persons have hitherto believed overstated.

The value of the service rendered the State by the Association is to some extent reflected in the record of land entries of government land during the year. From the different district land offices we learn that these entries aggregate 7,252, comprising an area of 993,570 acres. This is a pretty conclusive refutation of the statement confidently made, and often repeated, by old Californians, that there is no good government land in the State. The office is in possession of many letters from new settlers, which more than confirm the opinion of



your officers in reference to the agricultural value and general utility of these public lands. An experience of three years is calculated to strengthen the belief, that California offers abundant opportunity for securing cheap and good homes. It has also demonstrated that small farmers in this State have equal advantages with those in most other States of the Union. In fact, there is a growing sentiment that so called small farming pays better here than in almost any other State. This is particularly true in the districts where irrigation is most general. Thus far, in the experience of the work, it has not been difficult to effect satisfactory settlement of the new comers, if they were possessed of sufficient means with which to improve a new home. It is true that the best public lands, for the most part, are somewhat remote from railroad communication, but this is not more noticeable here than in other States where government land is to be found. But the development of the country is followed naturally by men of enterprise and capital, ready to supply the needed public improvements. While some of the new comers prefer to purchase homes already improved, in locations where the larger advantages of long settlement are enjoyed, the majority are willing to avail themselves of the more distant locations, which promise, perhaps, better ultimate pecuniary results.

The policy of the Association, which discriminates in favor of a desirable class of immigrants, has not been changed from the first, and while this policy is continued there is little danger of securing a larger influx of people than may be provided for in a satisfactory manner. In fact it may be confidently stated that were the immigration double, or treble what it is to-day, the new comers could be distributed throughout the State, through the agency of the Association, both safely and satisfactorily, by a slight increase of the clerical force. There are portions of the State which offer

large opportunities for settlement, which have not, thus far, been reached, for the reason that the funds at command have been insufficient to warrant a wider scope in our labors. Beside the government lands, there are private and railroad lands which are now available to purchasers. It may be regarded as a good indication that holders of large tracts evince a disposition to subdivide and put them in market. In a general way this is now being done in San Luis Obispo and Monterey counties, while in Fresno, Kern and Tulare counties the colony plan is being pushed with considerable energy. In fact, in all portions of the State, there is a disposition to offer lands for sale. Considerable attention has been given to the central and northern counties, and plans are now in progress to bring the great valleys of Sacramento and San Joaquin into more prominence through county Immigration Associations organized for that purpose. This Association has taken the broad view of immigration, acting on the belief that to benefit any portion of the State was to benefit the whole. Regarding San Francisco as the commercial metropolis, and believing that every other portion of the State must, for all time, occupy a secondary position in a commercial sense, the occasional criticisms which have appeared, claiming that the work of the Association was sectional in character, have not been answered. If it should appear that San Francisco merchants derive greater benefit than the business men in other portions of the State, who has the right to say that, in any sense, there is an impropriety in it! The work was inaugurated here, and has derived its support mainly from this city. The business men of Sacramento, inspired by public spirit, have contributed the sum of about \$1,200 a year for the last two years, but no complaint has come to the knowledge of your officers from that source, nor do we think there has been occasion for it.

During the year local Associations have



been formed at Los Angeles and Sacramento, patterned largely after this Association. The one at the latter city is the parent organization of a system of county societies, co-operating for the purpose of advertising the advantages of Sacramento valley and the great foot-hill region bordering the valley. Hitherto, county societies have not prospered. A considerable sum of money is required to get them into working condition, to say nothing of maintaining them afterward. It is gratifying to know, however, that interest enough is felt in the subject of immigration to find expression in this way; but it must be obvious that none of these detract from, but rather supplement, the work of this Association. The one in Sacramento is in the hands of earnest, efficient men. The Board of Trade of Portland Or., has recently taken up the subject, and has, I understand, employed an agent to open an office in San Francisco to work for immigration at this point.

This review would be incomplete without mention of the enterprise and public spirit of the Central Pacific Railway Company, in the preparations for an exhibit of California products of the World's Fair to be opened this month at New Orleans. At the cost of much time and money, an exhibit has been prepared for that Exposition, which probably over-shadows, in magnitude and variety, any exhibit of any State, on any similar occasion. That the results of this endeavor will be far-reaching, and of vast benefit to the State there is no reason to doubt. But this only renders the work of your Association doubly important, in order that the people who are attracted by the wonders there exhibited, and who later are thus induced to come here, may find facilities, such as we offer, for securing cheap and comfortable homes. If immigration is encouraged by this or any other means, it carries a grave responsibility which can only be met through organized and well considered effort. Your Board of Directors

has made a small appropriation, for the purpose of exhibiting the system and character of the work at New Orleans, and the necessary map, plats, books, etc., are now being prepared, and will be forwarded at an early day. It is also proposed to keep a register, that a record may be had of persons who desire printed matter relating to California sent to themselves or to friends. Mr. Turrill, who has the railroad exhibit in charge, has kindly offered to take charge of the matter, and to send forward daily a list of the names of those who register. He will also be liberally furnished with printed matter for distribution.

General Manager A. N. Towne, of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, has throughout the year responded promptly to the requests from this Association, and has in a most substantial way exhibited his interest in the work; this, in addition to the monthly contributions which he assumed at the time the Association was formed. Recognition is due also to Mr. T. H. Goodman, General Passenger and Ticket Agent; to Mr. W. H. Mills, of the land department of that company, and to Mr. James Madden, of the land department of the Southern Pacific Railroad, for favors received.

As to the future, experience must be the guide. What was begun, perhaps doubtfully, has grown to large proportions. Probably few members of the Board of Trade or of this Association realized at the outset the labor or responsibility involved in the undertaking. I may be pardoned for saying that few persons who have not had a similar experience can form a correct estimate of the thought, earnestness and care necessary to keep in harmonious working condition the several departments. As the work grows the responsibilities multiply. In this connection it is proper for me to acknowledge the efficient and conscientious services of your Secretary, Mr. C. H. Street, who has so ably conducted the duties of his office, and to say also that the clerical force,

one and all, is entitled to high commendation. What of success has been achieved must be shared generously with my associates in the Board of Directors, who have responded promptly to all my suggestions and recommendations.

If the work is to be continued, the efficiency of the office could be promoted by a change in location of the rooms. The advisability of securing accommodations on the ground floor, at a convenient distance from the ferry, is apparent. This, however, would increase the expense, which, on the basis of the present income, is hardly justified. The clerical force could also be increased to advantage; but here the same objection applies.

It may not be inappropriate to suggest that the revenue of the Association could be increased legitimately—to what extent it is impossible to say—through the addition of what may be termed a land agency, for the sale of private lands. This feature is suggested with some reluctance. I am not unaware of the danger of its abuse in this connection. But if maps and charts of private lands could be placed in the office, and sales could be made to new comers who prefer to purchase, rather than enter upon public lands, so as to make the commissions a part of the revenues of the office, possibly good results might be accomplished. The object of the Association is to develop the resources of the State, through increased population, and it must be admitted that the ultimate result would be the same, both in the settlement of public or private lands. This is a feature, which may, with propriety, be considered by your future board, although it would be obviously unwise to act upon the suggestion without most thorough and careful consideration.

That the promotion of immigration is the most, I might say, the only practical solution to the question of how to improve the industrial condition of the State, and to increase the volume of

trade and commerce, is, I think, no longer an open question. California is capable of supporting well, a very large population, but from her geographical position can only hope for a rapid increase through efforts similar to that we are considering. Immigration of the right kind of people directly adds to the wealth, productive and commercial power of the State, and the settlement of the millions of acres of unoccupied land, will bring to the merchants a trade not easily diverted.

It may be mentioned as a somewhat surprising fact, that commercial bodies, other than the Board of Trade, are so apathetic in the matter. The Chamber of Commerce—a large and influential body—has exhibited no interest in the work, and the Produce Exchange, which of all others, should be most interested, has met every overture of your officers with indifference. If the usefulness of the Association is to be enlarged, the few enterprising, public-spirited business men, who have thus far carried the work, but receive a benefit only in common with all other business men, should have the co-operation of those who compose the bodies mentioned. How to rouse a spirit of public interest is a matter for your consideration. The population of the State is now being augmented in a substantial manner through the work of this Association. You have in your hands the machinery for accomplishing a much larger increase than has yet been known. Liberal expenditures in this direction will unquestionably give you good returns. If, instead of one thousand dollars per month, this Association could have four thousand dollars per month for the year 1885, the effect on all industrial interests in the State would in my opinion justify the expenditure. Fifty thousands dollars (\$50,000) a year may seem to you a large sum; but it only involves five hundred contributions of \$100 each, or an equivalent from a smaller number. If the business men of San Francisco could be made to feel the

importance of this matter as it appears to me, the money for a vigorous, earnest and efficient prosecution of the work would not long be wanting. Can wealth, industrial energy, trade and commerce be increased in any other way, as directly and surely as

this? It lies with the business men of this State, and largely of this city, to say what shall be done in the matter.

Very respectfully, *ARTHUR R. BRIGGS.*

ARTHUR R. BRIGGS.

San Francisco, December 2, 1884.

## REPORT OF SECRETARY AND LAND OFFICER.

*To the President, Officers and Members of the Immigration Association of California:*

I herewith submit the following report for the fiscal year ended November 18, 1884.

### FINANCIAL REPORT—RECEIPTS.

|                                              |             |             |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Cash on hand last report, Nov. 20, 1883..... |             | \$686 23    |
| Subscriptions received from—                 |             |             |
| Business men of San Francisco.....           | \$ 7,037 90 |             |
| “ “ Sacramento.....                          | 1,206 00    |             |
| “ “ Redding.....                             | 65 50       |             |
| Pacific Coast Steamship Co.....              | 300.00      |             |
| Central Pacific R. R. Company.....           | 3,051 40    |             |
| Total.....                                   |             | \$11,660 80 |
|                                              |             | \$12,347 03 |

### DISBURSEMENTS.

|                                                                        |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| General expenses, salaries, publication, postage, stationery, etc..... | \$11,043 50 |
| Balance cash on hand.....                                              |             |
| In hands of Treasurer, \$1,252 45 }                                    |             |
| In hands of Secretary. 46 08 }                                         | 1,298 53    |
|                                                                        | \$12,347 03 |

There have been printed, publications in all, 404,000 copies. These have been distributed as follows:

|                                                    | Copies. |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Descriptions of California with map of the State   |         |
| In English.....                                    | 18,857  |
| In German.....                                     | 5,274   |
| In French.....                                     | 1,400   |
| In Swedish.....                                    | 1,202   |
| Description of public lands in California          |         |
| - In English.....                                  | 15,000  |
| In German.....                                     | 20,400  |
| Description of counties in the Sacramento valley.. | 87,400  |
| Descriptions of San Luis Obispo county.....        | 8,000   |
| Profits of a 10-acre orchard.....                  | 11,500  |
| Capital for new comers necessary.....              | 13,500  |
| Miscellaneous matter distributed on the trains.... | 31,000  |
| “ publications.....                                | 20,000  |
| Annual reports.....                                | 1,325   |
| Total.....                                         | 234,358 |
| On hand.....                                       | 169,142 |
| The number of letters written.....                 | 3,181   |
| The number received.....                           | 2,774   |

The number of persons who have called and registered at the office is 4,048, who represent 2,258 single men; 1,686 married

men, 1,686 married women, 104 single women and 3,753 children, making the total number represented, 9,487. The nationalities are represented as follows:

|                    |       |                        |       |
|--------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| United States..... | 1,843 | Norway.....            | 36    |
| Germany.....       | 565   | Wales.....             | 26    |
| England.....       | 422   | Austria.....           | 25    |
| Ireland.....       | 256   | New Brunswick.....     | 25    |
| France.....        | 150   | Belgium.....           | 16    |
| Canada.....        | 141   | Prince Edwards' Isle.. | 13    |
| Sweden.....        | 1 4   | Nova Scotia.....       | 9     |
| Scotland.....      | 99    | Spain.....             | 9     |
| Denmark.....       | 88    | Finland.....           | 9     |
| Italy.....         | 72    | Hungary.....           | 8     |
| Switzerland.....   | 65    | Portugal.....          | 7     |
| Australia.....     | 7     | Miscellaneous.....     | 48    |
| Total.....         | 3,817 | Total.....             | 231   |
| Grand Total.....   |       |                        | 4,048 |

There are on file in the office, 64 newspapers, representing 44 different counties in California; 14 published in San Francisco including one each in German, French, Danish, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, and four foreign papers, one each published in Brussels, Berlin, Vienna and Dresden.

Additional city, county, State, United States and other official and private reports and documents have been received and are a valuable addition to the library.

The table—furnished with pens, ink, paper, envelopes and printed matter ready for mailing—is constantly occupied, and many letters, circulars, pamphlets, maps, etc., are sent to friends from here.

Visitors at the office leave names and addresses of friends in a book prepared for that purpose, to whom printed matter is mailed at once.

The maps, scrap books and papers are con-



stantly in use. One of the most valuable features of the work, and most interesting to immigrants, is the samples from various parts of the State.

It has been found necessary to open what we call a "help book," where the addresses of persons wanting help is kept. By this means many new comers have been directed to immediate employment.

From the register, visitors have unexpectedly learned of friends and relatives who have preceded them, and thus many persons from the same States and localities in the East have been brought together and have settled in the same neighborhood. A small printed slip is sent out from the office in every enclosure, requesting names of farmers who might wish to make a home in California. A great many names are thus procured from a single neighborhood when the work of furnishing printed matter to and correspondence with that locality begins.

During the year a new and original township map of the State has been compiled from official sources, which is now being distributed with other printed matter. We are making corrections as found necessary, and will still further improve on what we believe is already the most correct map of the State now published.

In the land department much attention has been given during the year to ascertaining the availability of the Government lands for farms and homes, and the character of lands varying in price from \$1 to \$25 an acre, to enable California to bid as high and offer as favorable terms for settlement as other States. To invite farmers to California and not be able to point out to them free or cheap lands on favorable terms would be a failure. To invite a promiscuous population seeking employment or business, would be to fill the State with tramps or men to make unsuccessful search for business in California.

The work of platting, mapping, copying field notes, and personally examining the land, has been diligently continued during the year. Knowledge of the State has come to us from many sources. Through the newspapers, through the United States, State, county and city reports, private papers and documents; through horticultural, viticultural, agricultural, grange, silk and other conventions; through correspondence and other interviews.

The information comes from the high and the low districts, the wet and the dry, the hot and the cold, the irrigated and non-irrigated, the mining, the farming and the grazing districts, covering every subject relating to general farming, stock, cereal, orchard, vine and other agricultural interests, as well as other subjects in reference to commerce, trade, manufacturing, merchandizing, employment, etc. This information gives the experience of single years and of a series of years, with capital and without capital, of the experienced and inexperienced, of successes and failures. In fact, every interest of the State is brought under observation.

The land office records of the Sacramento valley and tributary country, excepting that of Susanville, in Lassen county, have been kept up closely, as have those of the San Francisco district, which embraces the coast counties from Humboldt southward, including a portion of Santa Barbara county. Those of Visalia and Los Angeles have been brought up to October 15th of the present year.

The entries in the districts mentioned since our report of last year and up to the time of the last investigations, are as follows:

| No.  | Homesteads—Entries. | Acres.     |
|------|---------------------|------------|
| 510  | Los Angeles.....    | 78,284.74  |
| 418  | Sacramento.....     | 56,098.42  |
| 810  | Marysville.....     | 24,473.82  |
| 318  | Shasta.....         | 27,526.49  |
| 243  | Stockton.....       | 41,894.88  |
| 540  | San Francisco.....  | 94,562.58  |
| 274  | Visalia.....        | 35,730.22  |
| 2483 | Total.....          | 358,471.15 |

| No.  | Pre-Emptions—Filings. | Acres.     |
|------|-----------------------|------------|
| 327  | Los Angeles.....      | 39,792.00  |
| 414  | Sacramento.....       | 55,800.00  |
| 221  | Marysville.....       | 35,624.37  |
| 351  | Shasta.....           | 52,021.00  |
| 591  | Stockton.....         | 83,183.00  |
| 853  | San Francisco.....    | 134,700.00 |
| 276  | Visalia.....          | 47,974.00  |
| 3033 | Total.....            | 459,099.09 |
| No.  | Other Entries.        | Acres.     |
| 109  | .....                 | 16,280.00  |
| 325  | .....                 | 44,465.00  |
| 22   | .....                 | 8,200.00   |
| 180  | .....                 | 47,680.00  |
| 636  | Total.....            | 106,525.00 |

Estimating the homestead, pre-emption and other entries in the three districts not mentioned at 1,100, entering 176,000 acres, the total number of entries for the year aggregates 7,252, comprising 993,570 acres. Of these entries 4,000 were probably for actually settlement, and this, we believe, is a low estimate. This is 800 in excess of last year's report. There are 1,974 more entries recorded this year than last.

Field notes have been copied in several counties of the north, where lands were accessible and most suitable for immediate settlement. Personal examination of land has been continued and we have extended written reports of such portions of the State as have been visited.

Three large county maps have been made, and two lithographed county maps have been contributed; 500 township plats have been copied from the originals, in the United States Surveyor-General's office.

Seekers have gone from our office to every county in the State, and many settlements have been formed, as the result of our work. In Shasta county there are four settlements, one of Germans, from three to six miles west of Redding, one east of Redding, from one to fifteen miles, one in the Big Bend of Pit River, 60 miles east of Redding, and the other extending from the railroad at Anderson, westward along Cottonwood Creek. Recently a selection was made about 40 miles east of Redding by a committee of Germans representing from 500 to 1,000 families.

A good many persons have settled in Siskiyou, Modoc and Lassen counties. In Tehama county, a small settlement has begun west of Red Bluff, and one southwest. Last Spring a committee of Mennonites visited this coast, looking up a location for the settlement of about 200 families. We sent the Land Examiner with them into the Sacramento valley. The location selected is near Red Bluff. Several families are now there, others will follow as rapidly as they can dispose of farms in Minnesota and Kansas. These people have money and will buy land paying cash down.

Individual settlers have gone into Colusa, Butte, Yuba, Placer, Nevada, Yolo and other counties.

The coast counties north have received a large number of people, who have settled in the choicest locations. Land in Lake county is much inquired after, as are the lands on the coast side of Sonoma, Mendocino and Humboldt.

A very active settlement of about 40 families was made last May on the government lands of Santa Clara county, in the mountains southeast of Wright's Station. There have been many claims filed on the mountain lands of Santa Cruz and Santa Clara counties.

In Monterey county both on the coast and in the interior, settlement has been quite rapid. Around Pleito, in the southern part of the county, 50 to 75 families have settled. In San Luis Obispo, the government lands, in certain localities, have been nearly all taken. In Santa Barbara and Ventura, considerable activity has been manifested in private lands, but the government lands have not been in much demand. In Los Angeles, San Bernardino and San Diego counties, there has been great inquiry. In San Diego county, a colony of Germans purchased 4,000 acres of land for \$60,000, from information obtained at the office, and are now moving onto it. In Antelope valley a portion of the Mohave desert, 25 miles



north of Los Angeles, a colony of 200 or 300 families has settled on government and railroad lands, and seem to be flourishing. Artesian wells have been sunk, trees planted and other improvements made which have the appearance of permanency.

Observation and experience show: That the mountains are suitable for general farming, stock raising, lumbering and mining, with the exception of those parts too steep to be accessible, or too high up in the snow belt to be utilized. That much of the Southern deserts may be made productive. That part of the Utah Basin in California may be partially utilized. That the high plateaux of the north and northeast may be profitably settled. That there is proportionately less unavailable land in the mountains of California than in the Alleghany range. That irrigation is not necessary north of the latitude of San Francisco, except in a few localities. That for general farming purposes, artificial irrigation is not positively required in the coast counties south of San Francisco and north of Ventura county, and that fair returns from cereals, fruit and stock are had without it, even in years when the rainfall is below the average, although during some seasons there may be considerable worry while waiting for rain. That general farming, as a rule, is safer and tends to a more even and permanent prosperity than special farming. That 20 to 40 acres make a comfortable and profitable home in the irrigated districts, and 80 to 160 acres where there is sufficient rainfall to produce crops without irrigation.

The pre-emption, timber and timber culture laws should be repealed, and the home-

stead law amended, so as to require two years residence before the settler is allowed to pay for the land if he should elect to do so.

The mineral restrictions should be removed from lands believed many years ago to be mineral, but which have long since been abandoned as such, especially those upon which mineral affidavits were filed many years ago, notoriously on account of temporary excitement, and covering in a single affidavit many sections or even in some cases an entire township.

It is due the United States Land Officers, Surveyor-General, and their assistants, to acknowledge the favors and uniform courtesy always shown by them to this Association, and for information given and assistance rendered by them from time to time.

It would be unjust to close this report without saving a word for the President of the Association, who has given so much of his time gratuitously during the last three years. It has been our duty to call upon him daily—and often several times daily—on business of more or less importance, and we have ever found him ready to receive us, patient to hear and advise us, although we do not remember to have ever called upon him when he was not laden with his own personal business. Critical, we may think at times, but always on the safe side. Whatever success the Association has achieved, is largely due to his counsel, in every department of the work.

Respectfully submitted,

C. H. STREET,  
Secretary and Land Officer.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

*To the Officers and Members of the Immigration Association of California.*

Gentlemen:—I beg leave to hand you herewith my annual report for the fiscal year from November 20, 1883, to November 18, 1884:

|                                               |             |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------|
| November 26, 1883, Balance on hand.....       | \$ 679 90   |
| Receipts during the year.....                 | 11,626 80   |
| Total .....                                   | \$12,306 70 |
| Disbursements as per vouchers in my hands.... | 11,054 25   |
| Balance.....                                  | \$ 1,252 45 |

Respectfully yours,

WM. STEINHART,  
Treasurer.

San Francisco, November 19, 1884.

## REPORT OF EXAMINING COMMITTEE.

*To the Board of Directors of the Immigration Association of California.*

Gentlemen:—The undersigned, a committee appointed by your honorable body to examine the accounts of the Association for the fiscal year ended November 18, 1884, having completed their labors beg leave to submit the following report. We have found as follows.

|                                                 |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Cash on hand last report, November 20, 1883.... | \$ 686 23    |
| Received from all sources.....                  | 11,660 80    |
| Total.....                                      | 12,347 03    |
| The disbursements were.....                     | 11,048 50    |
| Balance cash on hand.....                       | 1,298 53     |
| In hands of the Treasurer.....                  | \$1,252 45 } |
| In hands of the Secretary.....                  | 46 08 }      |
|                                                 | 1,298 53     |

Proper vouchers were found for all disbursements.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES DUFFY, }  
T. L. BARKER, } Committee.  
W. W. DODGE, }

# OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

## 1882.

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|                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| PRESIDENT.....      | ARTHUR R. BRIGGS. |
| VICE-PRESIDENT..... | W. L. MERRY.      |
| TREASURER.....      | WM. STEINHART.    |
| SECRETARY.....      | A. W. PRESTON.    |
| LAND OFFICER.....   | C. H. STREET.     |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

|                 |               |                   |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| JAMES R. KELLY, | WM. BLANDING, | J. V. WEBSTER,    |
| WM. L. MERRY,   | W. STEINHART, | ARTHUR R. BRIGGS, |
| JAMES DUFFY,    | T. L. BARKER, | W. N. HAWLEY,     |

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

|                 |                   |               |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| JAMES R. KELLY, | ARTHUR R. BRIGGS, | T. L. BARKER, |
| J. V. WEBSTER,  |                   | WM. BLANDING, |

### MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

|                 |                   |                 |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| JAMES R. KELLY, | ARTHUR R. BRIGGS, | GEO. K. PORTER, |
| W. W. DODGE,    | J. V. WEBSTER,    | JAS. DUFFY,     |
| WM. L. MERRY,   | C. F. BASSETT,    | WM. BLANDING,   |
| JULES CERF,     | J. A. FOLGER,     | C. W. WHITNEY,  |
| HENRY PAYOT,    | W. N. HAWLEY,     | JOHN C. HALL,   |
| M. EHRLMAN,     | W. STEINHART,     | A. A. WHEELER,  |
| T. L. BARKER,   | HENRY CASANOVA.   |                 |

# Officers of the Association, 1883.

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## OFFICERS.

|                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| ARTHUR R. BRIGGS..... | PRESIDENT                  |
| WM. L. MERRY.....     | VICE-PRESIDENT             |
| WM. STEINHART.....    | TREASURER                  |
| CYRUS H. STREET.....  | SECRETARY AND LAND OFFICER |

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| HENRY PAYOT,    | W. N. HAWLEY,     | JOHN C. HALL,   |
| M. EHRLMAN,     | W. STEINHART,     | A. A. WHEELER,  |
| T. L. BARKER,   | HENRY CASANOV     |                 |



# Officers of the Association, 1884.

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## OFFICERS.

|                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| ARTHUR R. BRIGGS..... | PRESIDENT                  |
| WM. L. MERRY.....     | VICE-PRESIDENT             |
| W. STEINHART.....     | TREASURER                  |
| C. H. STREET.....     | SECRETARY AND LAND OFFICER |

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| WM. BLANDING,  | J. V. WEBSTER, |

ARTHUR R. BRIGGS.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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ARTHUR R. BRIGGS.

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| JULES CERF,       | W. STEINHART,   |
| HENRY PAYOT,      | HENRY CASANOVA, |
| M. EHRLMAN,       | GEO. K. PORTER, |
| T. L. BARKER,     | JAS. DUFFY,     |
| ARTHUR R. BRIGGS, | WM. BLANDING,   |
| J. V. WEBSTER,    | JOHN C. HALL,   |
| C. F. BASSETT,    | A. A. WHEELER.  |

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE C. PERKINS,  
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1893.

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THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW CHINESE LAW.

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WASHINGTON.

1893

SPEECH  
OF  
HON. GEORGE C. PERKINS,  
OF CALIFORNIA.

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The Senate of the United States having under consideration the bill (H. R. 3687) to amend an act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," approved May 5, 1892—

Mr. PERKINS said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I should perhaps content myself by remaining silent and simply casting my vote on this measure as an expression of the feelings of the people on the subject whom I have the honor in part to represent in the Senate; but it is a question of such vital moment, of such great importance not only to California, but to the whole country, that I feel I would be derelict in my duty if I did not briefly give my views as I understand them of the facts before us under consideration in the pending bill. I shall, however, in the discussion of the case presented by the bill content myself with the general principles, leaving it to my colleague [Mr. WHITE of California] to take up and argue the various phases of the question presented.

CALIFORNIA DOES NOT ASK AN EXTENSION.

I may say in the commencement, however, in answer to the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. PALMER] that the people of California are not asking for this bill. It is the Chinese and their attorneys who come here and ask for special legislation in their behalf. We are satisfied with the law as it now is upon our statute books and as it has been construed by the highest judicial tribunal of the land. It is the Administration that is asking for a special act of Congress to relieve the Chinese among us who have refused to obey the law of the land as it has been judicially construed by our highest tribunal.

The details of this question are most interesting, but in view of the very extended and various debates on this and similar bills in Congress, little has been left that has been unsaid. The measure in other forms has received consideration from the best minds of our land, and, though it has been strongly opposed by certain classes and sections, it has always been passed.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION.

The subject is certainly an important one, and though the Pacific coast of our country is probably the most interested as yet, it is important to all sections, for unless the tide was stopped it might not be long before it took a turn and affected other sections as disastrously. Both sides have had their day, and in deed weeks and months in court, and the contributions therefrom have been very extensive and most exhaustive.

To the people of the Pacific States this is an old, old story. I

believe that no one doubts us the right of protection, though in protecting ourselves it is urged we have not the right to injure the rights of others, especially as the others in this case are here by the power and right of a sacred treaty.

#### THE DANGERS ANTICIPATED WHEN THE TREATY WAS MADE.

All kinds of opinions and all kinds of theories have found their way into this discussion since the adoption of the treaty in 1880. But it will be remembered by the conditions of that treaty we reserved the right to "limit or suspend the coming of the Chinese." There were fears then, by those who have examined the question, that there might be danger in it, and experience since has proven that the fears were not without foundation.

The various exclusion acts which have been passed are sufficient in everything, except that they do not exclude, and it was to enforce them and to remedy their imperfection that the act of Congress of May 5, 1892, was found necessary.

#### EXCLUSION ACTS DO NOT EXCLUDE.

Experience has demonstrated that the Scott exclusion act did not exclude, for the reason that it was deficient in not properly showing the Chinese who were here by right and who were here in violation of the law.

To ascertain exactly the Chinese who are here by right, it was proposed that they should be registered, the same as we are registered, before we have the privilege of voting at the various polls in the different States of the Union.

There were no harsh features or expense to the Chinaman in the remedy, which was simply intended to carry out our existing law, and which, under the treaty which we had entered into with that Government, we had the right to do, for it says, "to limit or suspend the coming of the Chinese." But the Chinese refused to assist us in ascertaining who were here lawfully by declining to register and openly defying our laws. In this refusal they did not act on their own volition, but were governed by orders of their Chinese superiors, and not by the mandates of our courts or officials.

#### CHINESE NOT FREE AGENTS.

And here I desire to state one of the most important factors in this case. The great mass of the Chinese who are among us are not their own free agents, but they are controlled and governed by organizations as separate and distinct from our own as China is distinct from the United States.

Many of these Chinese, to my own personal knowledge, were willing to register and were deterred only by fear of punishment by their respective companies. They recognized the fact that they were subject to the law of the land in which they sojourned, and were in no sense superior to our people, that they were amenable to the laws and regulations of our Government, but the edict issued by their organizations which recognizes Chinese courts of control, the organizations and associations which own them and which control them, was too powerful for them, and so they refused to register. It is said in extenuation, that they now find they made a mistake, and that, if the time for registration is extended according to the provisions of the pending bill, they will comply with the law and register.

Mr. DOLPH. I should like to ask the Senator from California who said that? Will the Senator specify who has said it?



Mr. PERKINS. My friend from Oregon simply anticipates the answer I am about to make.

Mr. DOLPH. Very well.

Mr. PERKINS. If it is not satisfactory, later on I shall be pleased to have the Senator ask that or any other question in relation to this subject matter, for it is one in which our people are deeply interested, and if I can not answer satisfactorily I know that my colleague on the other side can do so; and therefore the Senator will not disturb or interrupt me in the least by asking any question relating to this subject.

THE PEOPLE DOUBT THE PROMISES OF THE CHINESE.

As I stated it is possible that they will register, but judging from our past experience the people of California have great doubt about it, and I find that this doubt is not limited alone to the people of that State but to the people of the whole country who have a knowledge of the Chinese and their peculiar character; and it may not be long before there will be a demand for further legislation on the subject, as those who persist in refusing to register may continue to disregard our laws.

Petitions and memorials have been received here from the Chinese showing that they acted under legal advice, and now, that our courts have decided that this advice was bad, they indicate a disposition to comply with the law and register if a special act of Congress is enacted for their benefit.

SIX MONTHS' EXTENSION OF TIME ASKED.

Under these circumstances, this extension of six months is asked for, but what guaranty have we that the same legal advisers will not combat the law in their interest and again delay the registration the law compels beyond the time for which the present measure extends? Who makes the request for this extension of time? The Chinese Government, which is the only power that should ask it? Oh, no; it is asked by the attorneys who gave the Chinese the advice to defy the law. It is true that the Chinese minister has admitted that the "additional opportunity to register would afford his Government great satisfaction;" but there is no guaranty from him, and he gives no assurance or promise in all of the correspondence which has been submitted that the Chinese subjects will register. All that he says is contained in the communication asked for by Congress from the President, and submitted to us for our information a few days since.

WILL AFFORD THE CHINESE "GREAT SATISFACTION."

It is as follows:

*To the Senate of the United States:*

In response to the resolution of the Senate of the 10th instant, concerning the attitude of the Government of China with regard to an extension of time for the registration of Chinese laborers in the United States under the act of May 5, 1892, I transmit a report of the Secretary of State on the subject.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

Washington, October 18, 1893.

THE PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate of the United States of the 10th instant, requesting the President, "if not incompatible with the public interest, to inform the Senate whether the Government of China has requested of the United States an extension of time for the registration of Chinese laborers in this country, as required by the act of Congress entitled 'An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States,' approved May 5, 1892, or has given

to the United States any assurance that if the time for such registration shall be extended such Chinese laborers will register and take out certificates, and if such a request has been made or such an assurance has been given to transmit to the Senate copies of all correspondence concerning the same"—has the honor to lay before the President the following report, to the end that it may be communicated to the Senate should the President deem it proper so to do:

While the Government of China has not formally requested that the time for registration provided by the act of Congress entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," approved May 5, 1892, be extended, and no formal assurance has been given that if extended Chinese laborers in the United will take out certificates as provided by the act, the Chinese minister has repeatedly asserted, in conference with the undersigned, that his countrymen residing in the United States at the time of the passage of the act, on the advice of eminent counsel and in good faith, refrained from registering within the time allowed, and that it would be unjust to deny them another opportunity to register. The minister more than once has given assurance that an additional opportunity to register would afford his Government great satisfaction.

Respectfully submitted.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
*Washington, October 11, 1893.*

Perhaps, Mr. President, we should be gratified to know that the "additional opportunity to register would afford the Chinese Government great satisfaction," but our people very properly demand more than this. It would gratify my colleague and myself exceedingly if we were able to say that the people of the Pacific States are pleased at the prospect, but we can not do so. They are not pleased, for they feel confident, reasoning from past experience, that this is but another form of delay, to postpone the enforcement of if not to abrogate the statutes of our land, which every good citizen of this Republic feels not only a legal obligation, but a moral obligation to obey.

#### THE CHINESE LIKELY TO AGAIN TEST THE LAW.

The result will probably, then, be that the Six Chinese Companies that control, body and soul, the Chinese who are here among us, will again contest the pending measure should it become a law, and as it is an amended law, new issues can be joined, and the courts may place a different construction upon it from that which they placed upon the original law.

We would then be where we are now, and all because there is no guarantee about it, but simply because it would give the Chinese Government "great satisfaction." Possible delay and prospective postponement probably is the cause of the "great satisfaction."

The same eminent counsel with the same "good faith" and good-sized fee will in all probability give the advice which they desire. The Chinese are a peculiar, as they are in many respects, a wonderful people. One of our most humorous and versatile American writers has tersely photographed their character when he says:

Which I wish to remark,  
And my language is plain,  
That for ways that are dark  
And for tricks that are vain.  
The heathen Chinese is peculiar.

#### ONLY THE LOWER CLASSES COME TO US.

My own idea is, and my experience and observation tend to confirm the opinion, that it is only the lower classes of the Chinese who come here, and it is for this class that the bill proposes to legislate. They look at but few things as our people look at

them. The great majority of them and their friends thought that Congress was not in earnest in passing the present registration law. They have an all-abiding faith and confidence in the use and power of money; and they imagined that by money they could defeat the provisions of the law by undue influences with our courts and our public officials.

There are honorable exceptions to all rules, but they have no conception, as a class of people, of the high moral law as we understand it. They think that everyone who has any connection with the carrying out of the law can be bribed, and that there is no such thing as honesty, principle, and character among our people, when weighed in the scale with money. Money is one of their idol gods, to which they pay homage and burn sacred incense.

#### WE SEEK ANY REMEDY TO CURE THE DISEASE.

Those who have thoroughly considered the subject-matter can have but little confidence in the pending bill doing any more than its predecessor did. But the disease is here, and our people are willing to adopt this or any remedy that will cure, or that even promises to cure it, though we would prefer something more. We would prevent the disease. Certain it is that the people of the Pacific coast are looking for a cure, for they painfully realize that they are suffering from the dreadful scourge of Chinese immigration, and they are willing and anxious to secure a remedy.

#### NOTHING HUMILIATING IN THE PHOTOGRAPH.

Criticism has been made of the provision for photographing, and I regret that some of the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which reported the bill, do not look with favor on the provision for photographing Chinamen and attaching the photograph to the certificate of registration. It is claimed by some that the photographing is very humiliating. There is nothing, Mr. President, in this criticism. The Chinaman himself never thought that there was anything humiliating in photographing and has never made any complaint. Humiliation can not enter or play any part in an organization which is as stoical as that of the Chinese.

The photographing clause is rather for the benefit of the Chinaman himself, as well as others, for there is no other way by which a registry of their description can be kept, that is, a registry that will amount to anything. They are not marked as other people are. They all have a tan-colored skin. They have black hair and almond-shaped eyes, and are about the same height and build. Place one thousand of them in a line and the same personal description will answer for every one of them.

It is impossible to make even a comparative guess of their ages with any degree of accuracy. The old and the middle aged look so much alike that men who have lived among them for years are unable to guess within ten or fifteen years of the age of a Chinaman.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the Senator from California allow me?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. DAVIS. If all that is true, of what use is a photograph?

Mr. PERKINS. I am about to come to that. My friend has simply anticipated. When I get through, if I have not conclusively answered his question I shall be glad to have him ask it again.



## A PHOTOGRAPH EVEN WILL NOT IDENTIFY.

This similarity of appearance and features is not the case with any other people who come to our shores in very large numbers. Those who have given great attention to this matter have finally become convinced that there is no other way to distinguish them, and it is not claimed that even a photograph will always do this, for the features, the facial characteristics of many of them are so nearly identical that the photograph will not always do what is needed. However, there is no better way under the sun that I know of, and I do not believe my friend from Minnesota can suggest a better mode than the photograph, though it is admitted that even the photograph is by no means satisfactory. The idea that the photographs are made up, as it has been charged, to adorn a "rogues' gallery" is simply nonsense and without reason.

No one has ever thought of such a thing except the astute attorneys of the Chinese, who seem to be so much more careful of their clients than the Chinese are themselves. For many years every Chinaman who has been convicted of any serious crime in California has been photographed. No other way has been found by which the keepers of the prison can identify them and thus be able to tell exactly when their terms of sentence have expired.

This feature is, in the opinion of many, the most important in the law, and without it, it is almost certain that the law could not be enforced, for departing Chinamen by the thousands every year would leave this country and turn over their certificates of residence to others to come in. There is absolutely no other way of preventing such a traffic, except by the photograph, and that even will not work effectually in all cases.

## HOW THE LAW MAY BE EVADED.

A few days since I received a letter from a well-informed friend in California, in which he pointed out how the Chinese intended to do even more registering, providing they decide to register at all, and if this bill passes to permit them to do it. He states the case so well that I quote from his letter:

By the extension of time for registration afforded by the McCreary act—

That is the pending bill—

every Chinaman will register no doubt—if their companies permit them—but he will not stop at one registration, he will register a half dozen times. For instance, Ah Jim will register at San Francisco to-day as Ah Jim. He will register the next day at Oakland or Merced as Ah Sin. His personal appearance may be a little different each time. As Ah Bum he registers the following day at Fresno, and Ah John the next day at San Francisco or some other city. Ah Jim may register twenty or one hundred times.

I notice that in the bill under consideration no penalty is attached to Ah Sin for having done this. He may register as many times as he pleases, provided he does not represent his name as Ah Sam when it is Ah Sin. There is no penalty; and so he can go through our State as a missionary of registration, furnishing certificates for his cousins and his cousins' cousins who are to follow in his footsteps hereafter. So, as this friend writes, he may register twenty or a hundred times perhaps, and take the certificates and send them across to China to his brother or cousin and sell them for a few hundred dollars.

I remember reading a few days since the report of one of the immigration inspectors in New York stating that the Chinese are coming in from Cuba and the West Indies. We know they



have been smuggled in from British Columbia. In such cases the certificates become invaluable to them. My correspondent continues:

He will take the extra certificates and send them to a broker in China, who will sell them for a couple of hundred dollars each.

The broker will have 400,000,000 to pick from, and as all the Chinese are smooth shaven and look alike anyhow, it will not be difficult for the broker to find a man to fit each certificate. By the time the registration under the law closes we will have issued possibly a half million certificates and will thereby legalize the presence in this country of 400,000 Chinamen more than are here now.

#### WITHOUT THE PHOTOGRAPH NO SECURITY WHATEVER.

While there may be some exaggeration as to the number of Chinese who will thus falsely register, I am fully convinced in my own mind that, even with the photograph, there will not be entire safety, and without it there would be none whatever.

Too much care can not be given in this matter to the meaning of the terms "laborer" and "merchant," for upon that much of the success of the operation of the law will depend. In this whole matter we are dealing with a very remarkable class of people, a people whose cunning has no bounds. A Chinese laborer for a fee of from \$20 to \$50 can become a member of a merchants' firm, say the firm of Quong Lee Long & Co. This firm, for the sum named and other sums, may have already over 100 members, and about the only business done by the firm is merchandising in Chinese. There is no limit to their number, and all who have the money can become "coöperative members" and receive from it and similar firms certificates of membership. Such certificates have already been used in the courts for the admission of Chinese who had no right to land on our shores, and they will continue to be used unless the strictest possible construction of the word "laborer" is maintained.

#### NOT A PARTISAN POLITICAL QUESTION.

The immigration of the Chinese into this country has long since ceased to be a partisan political question. Men of all parties and creeds who have a knowledge of these people agree that they are a blight upon our industries and citizenship, and an injury to our people. At the general election held in the fall of 1879 in California, in accordance with a statute providing therefor, the question was submitted to the people of that State "for" and "against" the policy of permitting the unrestricted immigration of Chinese to continue, and out of a total vote of 161,405 there were deposited in the ballot box only 883 votes for such immigration. Every day since that election has served only to convince the then almost unanimous opinion of our people that they were right. The Chinese do not, they can not, they will not assimilate with us.

#### THE CHINESE WILL NOT LEARN.

They know nothing about our free Government, our standard of civilization, or American citizenship, and they care less. They know nothing and care nothing about our institutions, and they have no desire to learn about them. Our people of California believe in churches, in schools, in families, and the home; these are our citadels of liberty. The Chinese, on the contrary, care nothing about such matters. They have, it is true, a labor to sell, but it is a servile labor, a slave labor, for they are tied down by contracts of their own making, which places them in a

condition worse than slavery; their servitude can never end. They take no more interest in our affairs than if they were not here. It matters not how long they remain with us, they go away ignorant of our American institutions, simply because they do not want to learn.

#### THE PEOPLE WILL YIELD NO FURTHER.

For fear that we might in some way violate our treaty obligations our people have yielded point after point in favor of the Chinese. They do not want to yield any further, and insist that the law shall be enforced. They want a law so adjusted and severe in its penalties that it can not be evaded or discarded or openly violated. They know that the ordinary Chinaman, by some mysterious process of reasoning, thinks that he represents a higher plane of civilization than our people occupy, and they want provisions enacted which will prevent them from clandestinely coming into this country against the laws of our land. But they also recognize the fact, for fact it is, that the enormity of this question is not understood or realized on this side of the mountains. For out of the 107,000 Chinese in this country, according to the last census, nearly 80,000 of them are living in California.

#### AN UNDESIRABLE, A CONTENTION-PRODUCING PEOPLE.

The Chinese are an undesirable class of people. This is the unprejudiced judgment of people who know them, after years of experience. They are, it is admitted, a remarkable people in many respects, and many things can be said in their favor, for no one can be so biased as not to recognize this, but on the whole, considering their good and their bad points, we would be much better off if they had never come among us, or if they would now go back again. Many industries that depend upon their labor would, it is admitted, temporarily suffer in California, but in time these would right themselves. Their presence among us has kept up a continual contention that has done us steady harm. It has caused factions among ourselves, politically and religiously, and it has created misunderstandings and sectional strifes that have resulted injuriously to our common interests. It has separated us, and it has caused us to some extent to lose confidence in each other's judgment. Bitter quarrels have resulted from their presence and, worse than all, the morals of our youth, the promise of the future manhood of our country, have been undermined, for it has happened that, contrary to the experience with the people of other nations, our youth have copied only the injurious traits and habits of the Chinese. They have copied their vices instead of their virtues. In this respect it is hardly possible to calculate the injury the Chinese have done us, and those who are to follow us.

#### THE CHINESE A VIOLATOR OF OUR LAWS.

The Chinese have no respect for our laws, they violate our laws greatly out of proportion to any other number of people among us. In this connection I desire to state that I have recently received a letter from the chief of police of San Francisco, giving his experience in that city, which is a fair index of other cities relating to the Chinese. He has occupied the position for nearly half of his life-time, and is one of the most faithful and conscientious officers in the performance of his duty. He has the respect and confidence of all who know him, and his opinion upon this question can be taken as the truth so far as

it relates to his personal experience with the Chinese. He says:

OFFICE CHIEF OF POLICE, *San Francisco, October 19, 1893.*

DEAR SIR: Replying to your communication of the 11th instant, asking the percentage of crime committed by Chinese as against that of all other classes and requesting my opinion about the influence for evil that the Chinese have upon our young people, you are informed that the number of Chinese arrested for ten years ending June 30, 1893, is 20,000.

As compared with all other classes, about 11 per cent of offenses charged is committed by them.

The principal offenses committed by Chinese are "burglary," "larceny," "robbery," "murder," and "assault to murder;" "keeping opium dens," "gambling," "violating health and fire ordinances;" in fact they commit about every offense known to law.

In the cases of all other classes arrested about 70 per cent are charged with drunkenness.

Mr. HOAR. What percentage of the population are Chinese?

Mr. PERKINS. About 15,000 are now there. Our population is about 300,000. The chief of police continues:

Among the Chinese not 3 per cent are arrested for the latter offense.

That is, for drunkenness. In that respect they are exempt from that evil of American civilization.

I believe—

He says—

The influence of the Chinese for evil over our young people is great, and particularly so in the direction of immorality, gambling, and opium-smoking. I will also add that, with few exceptions, they appear to have no respect for our laws; in fact, they are the most persistent lawbreakers known to the police.

There are a number of secret societies here whose members are principally composed of highbinders, and whose object is to levy blackmail upon their countrymen, and, when not successful at that, they commit murder.

I tried with all the ingenuity I possessed to break up those societies in a legal way, but by their cunning, "of which they can beat the world," I did not succeed.

Their outrageous acts became so numerous that the press attacked them very severely and forcibly, which caused me to assume the responsibility of sending a squad of police to raid their meetings, in which the united press indorsed my action.

I estimate the Chinese population to be at least 15,000, and will increase before the winter sets in, because they flock to this place at that season from all over the coast.

Yours, truly,

P. CROWLEY, *Chief of Police.*

Hon. GEORGE C. PERKINS,  
*United States Senator, Washington, D. C.*

#### THE LAW DOES NOT FORCE THEM OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

These things are sufficient for consideration by themselves, but they are not exactly what we should consider now. The Chinese are here; they are here in large numbers; and they are here under our pledge that they are to receive the same protection as the people of the most favored or desirable nation.

It was not intended by the present law to force them out, to remove those who are here rightfully, but to prevent the further coming of a class which are admittedly objectionable. The existing law requires those who are here to be registered, so that if any are found hereafter without being able to show a certificate of registry, it can be presumed that they are here without right, in violation of the provisions of the treaties and our laws.

#### WE ARE OPPOSED TO THE FURTHER COMING OF A BAD CLASS.

We do not desire to allow the number of Chinese of the lower classes—the coolies—to be increased in this country. No people more than those of the Pacific coast recognize the value and nobility of labor, for "honest labor bears a lovely face," and no



people ever had so much of it to do, to build up the homes they now enjoy, to build up a great Commonwealth on the western shores of this continent, as the people of our State. They had to dig out of the rock the gold and silver that has enriched the world, and they had to level mountains in doing so. They cultivated the fields, they planted the vines and trees that now furnish breadstuffs and fruit to all parts of the world. The tremendous labor they performed, and are performing, is a surprise to the world, and it was only by it that they made their civilization possible and secured the comforts which they enjoy to-day. There are none among them who do not glory in the results of labor. But there is labor and labor. The labor given by the Chinese is a debasing, a degrading labor. Why, sir, one of the principal curses of slavery in our midst in this fair land was, that the labor of the slave degraded instead of elevated our people, that it injured instead of benefited all who came in contact with it. Just so is the servile contract labor given by the Chinese. It produces results? Yes, but the results are not satisfactory: the results are obtained at the sacrifice of American citizenship.

#### A GREATER CURSE THAN AMERICAN SLAVERY.

I think that the servile contract labor of the Chinese is a greater curse upon this land than African slave labor ever was. The man who owned a slave had a pecuniary interest in keeping him healthy, in providing for him. It was to his own financial interest to do this. But the employer of the Chinese contract laborer cares for him only so long as he renders him service for the money he pays. It is more degrading, more debasing, more demoralizing to our people, if that is possible, than ever the slave labor of this country was.

What have we passed through in this land to wipe out the curse of slavery? Can we not read the lesson in history written in fire, in blood from the veins of the brightest men in this land to wipe out that great curse? Can we not profit by that lesson, and say here to-day, thus far shall you go, but no further shall the servile contract labor of China pollute this great Republic?

#### A LABOR THAT INJURES RATHER THAN BENEFITS.

The labor performed by the Chinese has injured far more than it has benefited, either in California or any other State in this Union. It is not the labor that America demands and that her people have a right to expect and receive. It pulls down from that high position of dignity which labor should occupy and degrades it and keeps it down. It breeds contentions, it suggests and encourages difficulties, and it exasperates on all sides. It is not ennobling, it is not good, and it is not satisfactory. Labor is honorable, it matters not whether it is performed with the pick and shovel, by the sailor who mans the vessel, by the farmer who tills the soil, by the tool of the mechanic, the delicately adjusted instruments of the astronomer, or the scalpel of the surgeon. Labor is always honorable, but there is a great difference, there is an insufferable gulf, between labor and the work of the Chinese.

#### THE CURSE OF CHINESE LABOR.

Everyone who has watched the progress of both has long since observed that the curse of Chinese labor is that it is not independent, that it is secondary to other factors than that of the employer and the employés. It makes room for an intermediary,



and it lacks the efficacy, the dignity of true labor, because it is deficient in the essentials.

Under our treaty (and we have not and we do not want to violate any portion of it, either in spirit or letter) we are compelled legally and morally to protect the Chinese who are here with us, and we have and will continue to do so while they are among us. Acting under that treaty, and its provisions were ample, our people thought they had a right, they knew they had a right, they believed it for the best interest of this country to exclude Chinese immigration, which we had a right to do under its provisions.

#### WANT THE LAW THOROUGHLY ENFORCED.

We also want to enforce the exclusion act to the letter, and to aid us in that we enacted the registry law. And more than this, we want to stop continual agitation. We want to have this Chinese question settled once for all time. We want a rest and a chance to try the supposed benefit of the workings of the registration act. We want to put a stop to the oft-repeated cry of injustice to the Chinese; to the idea that the people of California (and I want to say that the people of California are the equal of any in moral character, in beneficence, in philanthropy, in enterprise, in all things that go towards making up good American citizenship, of any people in the world) are cruel towards the Chinese. They are a people who compare in the most favorable light as a class with any in this great Republic.

It is unjust to them that an erroneous impression on this subject should get over the land. It is to them a great injustice, and it prevails not only here in the Atlantic States but in Europe and elsewhere. We have been misrepresented. No Chinaman has ever been there assaulted or injured or has been in any greater danger at any time of being assaulted or injured than any citizen of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Our people will not tolerate, and have never tolerated, and have no disposition to wrong the humblest resident among them, no matter whether he comes from the isles of the Pacific, from China, or from any other country.

#### EVERY CHURCH A BEACON LIGHT OF CIVILIZATION.

We want to convince the good people of our own land. We want to convince the church-going people, who have so numerous petitioned Congress in behalf of the Chinese, that the people of California are in full sympathy with them for the stand they take for good government and good morals. They recognize that every church is a beacon light of civilization and is a bond for law and good society and the sanctity of the home, and that, while the petitioners are undoubtedly actuated by the very best of motives and purposes, they are entirely unacquainted with the people for whom they so eloquently plead.

Kind-hearted, benevolent, and Christian men and women in California and the other Pacific States have organized in their churches, Sabbath schools and aid societies, with a view to Christianize the Chinese, but I think it is safe to say that not 2 percent of the Chinese, after thirty years of earnest effort, have been converted to Christianity. It is clearly a case of love's labor lost.

#### CHINESE WORSHIP OF THE EVIL ONE.

The Chinese have their joss houses, their places of worship in every block in Chinatown. They burn incense to their gods.

They pay homage to the evil one, because they say the God we teach them to worship can do no wrong, and, therefore, if they can get on good terms with the evil one they are all right, and so they pay tribute to him. But it is not the highest motive which prompts men to be good only because they fear punishment hereafter. I do not think much of that religious sect or that man who embraces religion only because he fears the punishment which will come to him if he does not embrace it; rather let him embrace religion because its teachings are good and beautiful and elevating, and because God is love.

Mr. President, the people of California are generous to a fault; they are not engaged in any war against the Chinese. They are engaged, however, in something higher and nobler—in a contest to protect themselves, their reputation, their homes, and their youth from the contaminating influences of a people who are debasing to all who come within their radius. They do not want to strike one blow at the Chinese, but they do want to save themselves from the blighting influences which the Chinese have instituted in our midst; they do want to enforce that protection which the laws give them, and to palliate, if possible, the operations of a treaty which this country has made, and which has been found to work most injuriously to their interests.

#### OUR PEOPLE A CHURCH-GOING PEOPLE.

The people of California, and of the adjoining States are a cosmopolitan, but a law-abiding and high moral class, and they are a church-going people. They may be, and probably are, more broad-minded and care less about what particular form of religion is taught than people in other parts of the country, but they sympathize with every religious faith, sect, or creed which has for its object the bettering of the people and the elevation of their moral character. They have suffered from the Chinese, though in many instances they may have been benefited individually by their presence. They are anxious that the registration law shall be enforced as a means of preventing more Chinese from coming among us.

There are enough Chinamen in this country now to experiment on, and our people are not willing that the experiment shall be conducted on any larger scale. Experience has demonstrated to them the evil of this great influx of these undesirable people, and they appeal to Congress for the remedial legislation which the registration and exclusion act promised.

It is not my intention or desire to discuss this measure at this time in a more detailed manner. There are so many objections to the Chinese that a mere recital of them would occupy much more time than it would be proper or fitting for me to claim.

#### WILL NOT BECOME PERMANENT RESIDENTS.

The Chinese are undesirable for many causes; but among the principal ones is the fact that their stay with us is only a passing event, and that none of them hope or expect to become permanent residents among us. They add nothing to our prosperity and take everything they earn back to their own country. They would not, if they could, become citizens, and they are so careful about this that everyone of them comes here with a contract that in the event of his dying here his bones shall be sent back to the land of his ancestry.

That is why I used the expression that the Chinese Six Companies own the Chinamen body and soul. They think they

would never go to the flowery land of their ancestors if their bones were permitted to remain here upon our soil; and so, in the contracts which they make, it is stipulated that their bones shall be sent back, and every steamer which leaves the port of San Francisco and the port of Victoria, on Puget Sound, carries back boxes and boxes of the bones of these dead Chinamen.

#### AN UNHOLY CONTRACT.

I will add that the Chinese differ in this respect from every other class of people who come among us. The contract which is made is not one of filial love or brotherly affection. The last service of shipping the bones of Chinamen is not done by some sorrowing friend who gathers them and sends them back that they may rest in peace in the home cemetery, but by these cold-hearted agents of the Six Companies, who perform the service for so much consideration, which is "nominated in the bond."

The United States collector of internal revenue in San Francisco, and also some of the ablest statisticians of the leading journals of the West have made a computation, and they estimate—and they are very competent to do so—that the Chinese have sent or taken back to China in the thirty years they have been in this country the enormous sum of \$810,000,000. This, in the minds of those who have had experience with the Chinese, is sufficient to satisfy them that the Chinese, leaving all other questions aside, are undesirable, not to use a harsher word.

I have not gone into the details of this question to show in what manner these people live and how they are crowded together, contrary to all sanitary laws and to all regulations which everyone recognizes who wishes to enjoy health. I shall not attempt to describe to you their food, 96 per cent of which consists of rice and tea. They contribute nothing to the support of our country. I shall not weary the Senate with these details.

#### DEGRADING TO AMERICAN MANHOOD.

In answer to what I have said it may be replied, "they have contributed of their labor, have they not? They benefited you by giving you their services in building canals, in building railroads, in cultivating the land, and in building ditches." Yes, I must answer in the affirmative; but as I have said before it is a contract, a servile labor, which is contrary to our laws and which is degrading to American manhood. It is, I repeat, a labor more humbling and more debasing than slave labor. If the same labor had been given to others—and it would have been except for the presence of the Chinese—the result of the labor would have been left in our country by those who, from love of our institutions, would have become citizens of this great Republic; who would have built up their homes, raised their families, supported our public schools and other institutions, and thus have become factors in this great Government.

#### THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE DEMAND EXCLUSION.

The demand for exclusion, and for registration as a means of aiding the exclusion, I reiterate does not come from the so-called "hoodlums" and "sand-lotters," of whom so much has been printed in the public press in the Atlantic cities; but it comes from the thoughtful people of our State, who are most interested; it comes from the fathers, from the mothers, from the guardians of the youth of the State, and from those who are interested in the advancement and prosperity of this great country. It is a



universal demand, and it is for this reason that I do not think the Chinese have any claim upon the country or upon Congress to ask for this extension of the law which they have violated deliberately, intentionally, and contrary to the mandates of Congress.

But, Mr. President, in marked contrast to those who have refused to obey the law, in marked contrast with the Chinese, I wish to say that the people of the Pacific coast, from the State of Washington to California, all over that beautiful land which waters the western part of this great Union of States, will bow in submission to the will of Congress, for they are a law-abiding, liberty-loving, and patriotic people.

We of the sunset land of the nation have an abiding faith in the wisdom, justice, and patriotism of our fellow-citizens of these great United States. We believe that as soon as you investigate and understand the real question at issue we shall have your sympathy and coöperation in banishing from our midst this growing evil.

STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER AND REPEL ANY INVASION.

As common citizens of a progressive Republic it is our duty to stand shoulder to shoulder in repelling the invasion of not only the coolie of Asia, but also the pauper, the criminal, and the contract laborer of Europe. Let our school bells ring out their peals from hill and dale, from the mountains to the sea, from every hamlet in the land, that we have resolved it to be our bounden duty, first, to educate and rear the children of our own citizens and prepare them for the high duty of American citizenship, before we permit others to come in and usurp their places.

#### NEW CHINESE LAW.

The bill was passed November 2, 1893, and the law on the subject is now as follows:

An act to amend an act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," approved May 5, 1892.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That section 6 of an act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," approved May 5, 1892, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 6. And it shall be the duty of all Chinese laborers within the limits of the United States who were entitled to remain in the United States before the passage of the act to which this is an amendment to apply to the collector of internal revenue of their respective districts within six months after the passage of this act for a certificate of residence; and any Chinese laborer within the limits of the United States who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to comply with the provisions of this act and the act to which this is an amendment, or who, after the expiration of said six months, shall be found within the jurisdiction of the United States without such certificate of residence, shall be deemed and adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, and may be arrested by any United States customs official, collector of internal revenue or his deputies, United States marshal or his deputies, and taken before a United States judge, whose duty it shall be to order that he be deported from the United States, as provided in this act and in the act to which this is an amendment, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of said judge that by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of said United States judge, and by at least one credible witness other than Chinese, that he was a resident of the United States on the 5th of May, 1892; and if, upon the hearing, it shall appear that he is so entitled to a certificate, it shall be granted upon his paying the cost. Should it appear that said Chinaman had procured a certificate which has been lost or destroyed, he shall be detained and judgment suspended a reasonable time to enable him to procure a duplicate from the officer granting it, and in such



cases the cost of said arrest and trial shall be in the discretion of the court; and any Chinese person, other than a Chinese laborer, having a right to be and remain in the United States, desiring such certificate as evidence of such right, may apply for and receive the same without charge; and that no proceedings for a violation of the provisions of said section 6 of said act of May 5, 1892, as originally enacted, shall hereafter be instituted, and that all proceedings for said violation now pending are hereby discontinued: "Provided, That no Chinese person heretofore convicted in any court of the States or Territories or of the United States of a felony shall be permitted to register under the provisions of this act: but all such persons who are now subject to deportation for failure or refusal to comply with the act to which this is an amendment shall be deported from the United States as in said act and in this act provided, upon any appropriate proceedings now pending or which may be hereafter instituted.

SEC. 2. The words "laborer" or "laborers," wherever used in this act or in the act to which this is an amendment, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled manual laborers, including Chinese employed in mining, fishing, huckstering, peddling, laundrymen, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation.

The term "merchant," as employed herein and in the acts of which this is amendatory, shall have the following meaning and none other: A merchant is a person engaged in buying and selling merchandise, at a fixed place of business, which business is conducted in his name, and who during the time he claims to be engaged as a merchant does not engage in the performance of any manual labor, except such as is necessary in the conduct of his business as such merchant.

Where an application is made by a Chinaman for entrance into the United States on the ground that he was formerly engaged in this country as a merchant, he shall establish by the testimony of two credible witnesses other than Chinese the fact that he conducted such business as hereinbefore defined for at least one year before his departure from the United States, and that during such year he was not engaged in the performance of any manual labor, except such as was necessary in the conduct of his business as such merchant, and in default of such proof shall be refused landing.

Such order of deportation shall be executed by the United States marshal of the district within which such order is made, and he shall execute the same with all convenient dispatch; and pending the execution of such order such Chinese person shall remain in the custody of the United States marshal, and shall not be admitted to bail.

The certificate herein provided for shall contain the photograph of the applicant, together with his name, local residence, and occupation, and a copy of such certificate, with a duplicate of such photograph attached, shall be filed in the office of the United States collector of internal revenue of the district in which such Chinaman makes application.

Such photographs in duplicate shall be furnished by each applicant in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. STEPHEN M. WHITE,  
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1893.



WASHINGTON.  
1893.



SPEECH  
OF  
HON. STEPHEN M. WHITE.

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The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. 3687) to amend an act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," approved May 5, 1892—

Mr. WHITE of California, said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I shall detain the Senate but a few moments with reference to the pending measure, as I deem it essential, if we desire to transact any business at all concerning it, that the matter should be brought to a head at once.

I have listened to all of the arguments made by the distinguished Senators who have addressed themselves to this bill, and I have heard many things regarding the Chinese which I never heard before. Perhaps this is because I know something about the race, while Senators who have furnished the information have never been brought in contact with those of whom they have treated.

A gentleman was once asked whether he had ever seen the Allegheny Mountains. He replied: "Why, sir; of course I have. Did not I work for the contractor who built them?" There are remarks made here with relation to the Chinese which give me the impression that Senators who have addressed us upon the subject, while acting innocently, have nevertheless committed themselves without full knowledge or correct advice.

I do not intend to describe the condition of the Chinese. This has been done here so often by those thoroughly competent for the task that I should deem it an intimation that Senators were unable to appreciate facts when presented plainly, if I endeavored to travel over the ground again.

It is admitted that the people of California have succeeded in obtaining a major portion of this undesirable element. The Chinese have come to us. We have them. We who are side by side with them, who move among them, who necessarily learn something about them, are told by Senators who have had no such opportunity, who view them from afar, that they constitute an immigration that is rather valuable, and that after all they are a desirable people to cultivate.

In Harper's Weekly, of date July 23, and in another number of the same weekly dated July 30, 1870, I find illustrations accompanied by an article in which we are informed that a certain gentleman, Mr. Sampson, residing in North Adams, Mass., who was conducting a boot and shoe business in that enterprising locality, found himself unable, or at least unwilling, to pay to his white employés the sums which they demanded; he accord-



ingly sent an agent to California and imported a number of Chinese operatives.

The pictures to which I allude illustrate the Mongolians at work in a Massachusetts shoe shop. But, Mr. President, it turned out in a very few days that there was a commotion in that good old Commonwealth, and the Chinamen who had been thus imported found it well to leave at a speed much greater than that displayed at the time of their advent.

Hence, I may be permitted to remark that unless there has been a change of opinion the gentlemen who regard the Chinamen as advantageous for California do not regard them as very desirable for themselves.

In the city of San Francisco there are congregated an immense number of Chinese. The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], who so ably and eloquently championed their cause here, has stated that he has witnessed transactions or sights in that locality of a horrible character. Indeed no one can visit the place without being made aware that a Chinaman differs from any one ever before brought within the scope of his observation.

The Senator also referred to the circumstance that Chinamen send their countrymen's bones to Asia, thus indicating, I suppose, a belief that this country is scarcely good enough to hold the relicts. No special objection is made to the deportation of Chinamen's bones, but the people of California prefer that the Chinamen should go to China before he has reached a state where it is impossible to transport more than a portion of his being.

In this connection, and as illustrative of Chinese habits, I might mention the fact that some years ago an officer was walking upon his beat on Dupont street, San Francisco, when he detected a peculiar odor permeating the atmosphere. While he was tolerably familiar with the flavor of the effluvia of Chinatown, as he had been in the habit of taking care of that somewhat singular locality, yet there was something unusual about this, something differing from the ordinary. He procured one of his associates to accompany him, and entering an adjacent Chinese dwelling and, passing three or four stories underground, they came to a room beneath the sidewalk wherein the air was unendurably corrupt.

There they found a great caldron in which there were bodies of deceased Chinamen, and these were being boiled for the purpose of extracting the bones for shipment. The chef who seemed to preside over the operation smiled as the officers entered, and explained to them quite fully that this was by far the most approved method of preparing the proposed consignment. Of course the institution was suppressed as a nuisance.

Mr. President, Senators have probably heard of highbinders. A highbinder, as we understand the matter, is an individual whose business it is to murder for hire. Commotions in Chinese society caused by highbinder warfare are not infrequent. Such a contest simply means that conflicting associations of those whose business is assassination have determined to settle in blood issues arising as the result of their nefarious trade. In San Francisco it is common knowledge that the highbinder executes the edicts and commands of his employer. A highbinder is occasionally caught after he has killed some one, and upon conviction is hanged. His shirt of mail, suspended as a trophy in the police department, indicates that he was an individual of considerable enterprise

and that he possessed the inventive genius which is so greatly admired by his American advocates.

We have sought to deal with the Chinese in a humane manner. We have done our best to shield them from violence. Charges to the contrary are baseless; and while we have been criticised because of our attitude towards the Chinese, the fact remains that they prefer to stay in California rather than to go anywhere else. With all our faults they enjoy residence with us. They have no confidence that they will be well and profitably received in the bosoms of those who loudly demand unrestricted immigration and who appear to consult Chinese convenience rather than the interests of our own race.

Mr. President, it has been said that the legislation proposed here is peculiar. So it is peculiar, because it deals with a peculiar subject and a peculiar people. It deals with a race differing from all others in essential particulars. The Senator from Minnesota eloquently referred to the antiquity of the Chinese Empire and spoke of its ancient greatness. He prophesied that it will stand when existing empires, republics, and dynasties have passed from the earth. Perhaps this may prove true; but the Chinese Empire of to-day is not a model of progression. On the contrary, it presents the worst features of modern society. It is incapable of absorbing knowledge and oblivious to the demands of enlightenment.

Born in a State where Chinamen have been from the time of the organization of the government; witnessing them and their conduct as a boy, as a man, in a professional and in other capacities, I am thoroughly familiar with their habits, with their capabilities, and their moral status. When Senators condemn this bill because it discredits the Chinaman as a witness, they forget that such a rule merely recognizes the existence of a characteristic, to disregard which would be to assert that it is impossible for this Government to maintain or enforce its laws. Never—and I say it unqualifiedly—never have I known a Chinaman whom I would believe under oath in a matter in which he was interested. Can that be said of any other class or of any other people? It is not for me to philosophize, to analyze the Chinese disposition, or to seek to draw from their history anything accounting for these deficiencies. I am speaking of things as they exist. This clause is essential to the efficiency of the measure.

So true is it, Mr. President, that a Chinaman can not be believed on oath, that when to tell the truth in a court of justice would be beneficial to him it is often almost impossible to induce him to fully declare it because he does not believe that there can be any association of rectitude with his interests. When a Chinaman is presented before a judge or a jury, and there is no testimony explanatory of his declarations, it is often impossible to reach a satisfactory conclusion. It is generally difficult to discern which of two contesting Mongolians approaches to the truth. They have absolutely no conception of their duties in this regard.

When acting in an official capacity upon a certain occasion I was called into court to attend to the public interest in a small case. A battery charge was involved. The prosecutor and the defendant were Chinamen. The former's face was discolored, showing evidence of injurious contact. He had been somewhat

disfigured. He claimed that a member of another company, a Chinaman, had attacked him upon the public street. A trial was had. As prosecuting officer I introduced the complaining Chinaman and six other Chinese witnesses. The defendant's counsel asked each of them to which company he belonged, and each swore that he was a member of the company of the prosecuting witness. Then came the defendant, and he introduced six Chinese witnesses; each of whom was a member of the company to which the defendant belonged, and each swore absolutely and positively that defendant was not present when the assault was said to have taken place, though the other seven witnesses had testified emphatically that defendant committed the battery.

I mention this as illustrating the proposition that a Chinaman will swear according to the interest and orders of his company. If there is litigation among Chinamen, and there are 75 Chinese witnesses upon one side and 75 Chinese witnesses upon the other side, upon investigation you will find that all the plaintiff's witnesses belong to one company and that all the defendant's witnesses recognize another company. Their habits and customs are not such as to make them either valuable or tolerable residents of any civilized community.

Upon another occasion I was called upon to prosecute a Chinaman for the murder of another Chinaman. I succeeded in procuring a conviction. The court believed that there had been an error in the trial, some misruling upon a question connected with the testimony, and a new trial was granted.

When the time for the new trial approached I visited the Chinaman representing the company to which the decedent had pertained, and told him that I desired the witnesses who had been present at the former trial to appear once more in court as witnesses. He shook his head and said that they could not be found.

I said "Where are they?" He did not know. I pressed him, and he advised me to dismiss the case. After considerable interrogation I arrived at this state of facts: The Chinaman who had been killed was a member of the company which the man with whom I was conversing represented, and the Chinaman who did the killing was a member of another company; and the two companies came together and appraised the dead Chinaman at \$1,000, and had passed the money and the receipts. Therefore the witnesses could no longer be found.

Is it for a class of people to whom this is an every-day and monotonous transaction that we are asked to sacrifice the wishes and the comfort of the citizens of the American Republic?

Mr. President, I am as charitable and kind-hearted, I trust, as any man who is within this Chamber or elsewhere. I would as quickly, I hope, as any one else put myself out to alleviate suffering and perform those duties which charity enjoins upon a Christian. But I am confronted with a situation that threatens ruin to my own people; and when I am called upon to choose between them and an alien race incapable of virtue and unappreciative of vice, then I stand by my own hearthstone and guard my own home.

Senators who know but little of these things say much to the effect that we have been disregarding a treaty. Mr. President, the Chinese Government has never in good faith attempted to stand by its treaty. When it appeared to this Government and



to the Congress of the United States that the treaty that had been adopted and ratified in 1880 needed revision, there was an effort made by us to accomplish such revision. As stated in the very able message of Mr. Cleveland, presented to this body when he was formerly President of the United States, this Government, through its commissioners, prepared a treaty which was acceptable to the Chinese minister here, and which every one supposed would be ratified. This proposed engagement was submitted to the Chinese Government and there it rested for a period of about six months without any action whatever.

Our minister repeatedly and urgently called the attention of the imperial government to the pendency of that treaty, to the demand upon the part of the citizens of the United States that it should be acted on. No response whatever was given. Thereupon Mr. Cleveland signed the act of 1888 and sent to Congress the message to which I have referred upon another occasion.

It is as follows:

*To the Congress:*

I have this day approved House bill No. 11,336, supplementary to an act entitled "An act to execute treaty stipulations relating to Chinese," approved the 6th day of May, 1882.

It seems to me that some suggestions and recommendations may properly accompany my approval of this bill.

Its object is to more effectually accomplish by legislation the exclusion from this country of Chinese laborers.

The experiment of blending the social habits and mutual race idiosyncrasies of the Chinese laboring classes with those of the great body of the people of the United States has been proved by the experience of twenty years, and ever since the Burlingame treaty of 1868, to be in every sense unwise, impolitic, and injurious to both nations. With the lapse of time the necessity for its abandonment has grown in force, until those having in charge the government of the respective countries have resolved to modify and sufficiently abrogate all those features of prior conventional arrangements which permitted the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States.

In modification of prior conventions the treaty of November 17, 1880, was concluded, whereby, in the first article thereof, it was agreed that the United States should at will regulate, limit, or suspend the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, but not absolutely prohibit it; and under this article an act of Congress approved on May 6, 1882 (see volume 22, page 58, Statutes at Large), and amended July 5, 1884 (volume 23, page 115, Statutes at Large), suspended for ten years the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, and regulated the going and coming of such Chinese laborers as were at that time in the United States.

It was, however, soon made evident that the mercenary greed of the parties who were trading in the labor of this class of the Chinese population was proving too strong for the just execution of the law, and that the virtual defeat of the object and intent of both law and treaty was being fraudulently accomplished by false pretense and perjury, contrary to the expressed will of both Governments.

To such an extent has the successful violation of the treaty and the laws enacted for its execution progressed that the courts in the Pacific States have been for some time past overwhelmed by the examination of cases of Chinese laborers who are charged with having entered our ports under fraudulent certificates of return or seek to establish by perjury the claim of prior residence.

Such demonstration of the inoperative and inefficient condition of the treaty and law has produced deep-seated and increasing discontent among the people of the United States, and especially with those resident on the Pacific coast. This has induced me to omit no effort to find an effectual remedy for the evils complained of, and to answer the earnest popular demand for the absolute exclusion of Chinese laborers having objects and purposes unlike our own, and wholly disconnected with American citizenship.

Aided by the presence in this country of able and intelligent diplomatic and consular officers of the Chinese Government, and the representations made from time to time by our minister in China under the instructions of the Department of State, the actual condition of public sentiment and the status of affairs in the United States has been fully made known to the Government of China.

The necessity for remedy has been fully appreciated by that Government,



and in August, 1886, our minister at Peking received from the Chinese foreign office a communication announcing that China, of her own accord, proposed to establish a system of strict and absolute prohibition of her laborers, under heavy penalties, from coming to the United States, and likewise to prohibit the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who had at any time gone back to China "in order" (in the words of the communication) "that the Chinese laborers may gradually be reduced in number and causes of danger averted and lives preserved."

This view of the Chinese Government, so completely in harmony with that of the United States, was by my direction speedily formulated in a treaty draft between the two nations, embodying the propositions so presented by the Chinese foreign office.

The deliberations, frequent oral discussions, and correspondence on the general questions that ensued have been fully communicated by me to the Senate at the present session, and, as contained in Senate Executive Document O, parts 1 and 2, and in Senate Executive Document No. 272, may be properly referred to as containing a complete history of the transaction.

It is thus easy to learn how the joint desires and unequivocal mutual understanding of the two Governments were brought into articulated form in the treaty, which, after a mutual exhibition of plenary powers from the respective Governments, was signed and concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and China at this capital on March 12 last.

Being submitted for the advice and consent of the Senate, its confirmation, on the 7th day of May last, was accompanied by two amendments, which that body ingrafted upon it.

On the 12th day of the same month the Chinese minister, who was the plenipotentiary of his Government in the negotiation and the conclusion of the treaty, in a note to the Secretary of State gave his approval to these amendments, "as they did not alter the terms of the treaty," and the amendments were at once telegraphed to China, whither the original treaty had previously been sent immediately after its signature on March 12.

On the 13th day of last month I approved Senate bill No. 3304, "to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States." This bill was intended to supplement the treaty, and was approved in the confident anticipation of an early exchange of ratifications of the treaty and its amendments and the proclamation of the same, upon which event the legislation so approved was by its terms to take effect.

No information of any definite action upon the treaty by the Chinese Government was received until the 21st ultimo—the day the bill which I have just approved was presented to me—when a telegram from our minister at Peking to the Secretary of State announced the refusal of the Chinese Government to exchange ratifications of the treaty, unless further discussion should be had with a view to shorten the period stipulated in the treaty for the exclusion of Chinese laborers, and to change the conditions agreed on, which should entitle any Chinese laborer who might go back to China to return again to the United States.

By a note from the *chargé d'affaires ad interim* of China to the Secretary of State, received on the evening of the 25th ultimo (a copy of which is herewith transmitted, together with the reply thereto), a third amendment is proposed, whereby the certificate, under which any departing Chinese laborer alleging the possession of property in the United States would be enabled to return to this country, should be granted by the Chinese consul instead of the United States collector, as had been provided in the treaty.

The obvious and necessary effect of this last proposition would be practically to place the execution of the treaty beyond the control of the United States.

Article I of the treaty proposed to be so materially altered had, in the course of the negotiations, been settled in acquiescence with the request of the Chinese plenipotentiary and to his expressed satisfaction.

In 1886, as appears in the documents heretofore referred to, the Chinese foreign office had formally proposed to our minister strict exclusion of Chinese laborers from the United States without limitation; and had otherwise and more definitely stated that no term whatever for exclusion was necessary, for the reason that China would of itself take steps to prevent its laborers from coming to the United States.

In the course of the negotiations that followed suggestions from the same quarter led to the insertion in behalf of the United States of a term of "thirty years," and this term, upon the representations of the Chinese plenipotentiary, was reduced to "twenty years," and finally so agreed upon.

Article II was wholly of Chinese origination, and to that alone owes its presence in the treaty.

And it is here pertinent to remark that everywhere in the United States laws for the collection of debts are equally available to all creditors without respect to race, sex, nationality, or place of residence, and equally with the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations and with the citizens of the

United States recovery can be had in any court of justice in the United States by a subject of China, whether of the laboring or any other class.

No disability accrues from nonresidence of a plaintiff whose claim can be enforced in the usual way by him or his assignee or attorney in our courts of justice.

In this respect it can not be alleged that there exists the slightest discrimination against Chinese subjects, and it is a notable fact that large trading firms and companies and individual merchants and traders of that nation are profitably established at numerous points throughout the Union, in whose hands every claim transmitted by an absent Chinaman of a just and lawful nature could be completely enforced.

The admitted and paramount right and duty of every government to exclude from its borders all elements of foreign population which for any reason retard its prosperity or are detrimental to the moral and physical health of its people, must be regarded as a recognized canon of international law and intercourse. China herself has not dissented from this doctrine, but has, by the expressions to which I have referred, led us confidently to rely upon such action on her part in cooperation with us as would enforce the exclusion of Chinese laborers from our country.

This cooperation has not, however, been accorded us. Thus from the unexpected and disappointing refusal of the Chinese Government to confirm the acts of its authorized agent and to carry into effect an international agreement, the main feature of which was voluntarily presented by that Government for our acceptance, and which had been the subject of long and careful deliberation, an emergency has arisen, in which the Government of the United States is called upon to act in self-defense by the exercise of its legislative power. I can not but regard the expressed demand on the part of China for a reexamination and renewed discussion of the topics so completely covered by mutual treaty stipulations as an indefinite postponement and practical abandonment of the objects we have in view, to which the Government of China may justly be considered as pledged.

The facts and circumstances which I have narrated lead me, in the performance of what seems to me to be my official duty, to join the Congress in dealing legislatively with the question of the exclusion of Chinese laborers, in lieu of further attempts to adjust it by international agreement.

But while thus exercising our undoubted right in the interests of our people and for the general welfare of our country, justice and fairness seem to require that some provision should be made by act or joint resolution, under which such Chinese laborers as shall actually have embarked on their return to the United States before the passage of the law this day approved, and are now on their way, may be permitted to land provided they have duly and lawfully obtained and shall present certificates heretofore issued permitting them to return in accordance with the provisions of existing law.

Nor should our recourse to legislative measures of exclusion cause us to retire from the offer we have made to indemnify such Chinese subjects as have suffered damage through violence in the remote and comparatively unsettled portions of our country at the hands of lawless men. Therefore I recommend that, without acknowledging legal liability therefor, but because it was stipulated in the treaty which has failed to take effect, and in a spirit of humanity befitting our nation, there be appropriated the sum of \$276,619.75, payable to the Chinese minister at this capital, on behalf of his Government, as full indemnity for all losses and injuries sustained by Chinese subjects in the manner and under the circumstances mentioned.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October 1, 1888.*

Mr. WHITE of California. In that message the President tersely states ample reasons for the belief that China had absolutely refused to enter into any stipulation with us at all. She stood without action, inert and impassive, determined to do nothing that we wished her to do, defiant and morose. It is true that a treaty is an obligation, binding at least in the forum of the national conscience; but it is not a fact that a nation is bound to stand by a treaty forever, and to see its own interests and the interests which it was organized to conserve sacrificed upon the altar of sentimentality.

When China refused to reasonably modify this treaty; when her people, in violation of the terms of a preceding compact were constantly coming to this country, intruding upon shores upon which it was not lawful for them to tread. When Chinese officials aided and abetted these transactions, then I assert the time

had come when it was but justice to our own citizens to enact such laws as might be deemed adequate for our defense. Under this condition of affairs the statutes mentioned were passed—lawfully, justly, and properly.

No doubt exists of the power of the Congress of the United States to legislate notwithstanding a treaty. It is true that the power should be rarely exercised. It is a fact, Mr. President, that we should under all circumstances endeavor to adhere to the engagements which we may have made. But there are times, as every writer upon such subjects concedes, when a nation is justified in paying no further attention to a treaty. One of these occasions, recognized by all authorities upon international law, is disclosed when one party violates the terms of a treaty. Such behavior warrants the other party in regarding the contract terminated.

The principal object of the legislation which is now sought to be enacted here, and of the legislation which we have heretofore adopted, has been to prevent the coming to this country of the Chinamen whom China herself admitted should not be permitted among us, but who have been allowed to come by China in spite of the solemn obligations into which that nation entered. This violation of treaty stipulations by China was long anterior to the legislation of 1888, was provocative of that legislation, and made that necessary.

Therefore, Mr. President, this Government stands absolutely acquitted of the accusations made against it. It is not with good grace that these charges should be made upon this floor by Senators who themselves have participated in the enactment of the legislation which they now denounce. If Senators have done nothing worse and nothing which will more subject them to criticism than that which they performed in voting for the legislation sought by the people of the Pacific coast, they will never have occasion for sorrow or pain.

This act, Mr. President, as I have said, is justifiable where it demands testimony other than Chinese; with reference to the burden of proof it is also justifiable. It is a familiar principle that the party who has in his possession the best evidence must produce it upon demand. A Chinaman defends himself by saying: "You can not deport me because I have a good excuse for nonregistration." If so, he must establish that fact. It is impossible for this Government to prove the contrary at the outset. If every Chinaman in California is presumed to have registered, or if he concedes that he did not register, if he is presumed to have a good excuse for nonregistration it will be impossible for the Government ever to make a case for deportation against a Chinaman.

If, in defiance of the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, you treat this as penal legislation, if you declare that it is in effect the enactment of a penal statute, and that the Chinaman is entitled to the presumption of innocence so called as to each and every proposition necessary to be established in order to justify his deportation, then he must be presumed to be a person exempt from liability to deportation, and this presumption can not be rebutted no matter what the merits may be.

When once the certificate provided for by this statute has been given to a Chinaman he has in his pocket the very best



evidence that he can have and the best evidence that exists of his right to be in the country, and he can readily supply it.

There is no disgrace in the photograph requirement of this bill. Is it a disgrace to have our photographs taken? Have not Senators at some time in their lives been proud and happy when asked for a photograph? Is it not a fact that some candidates for office occasionally send photographs about for the purpose of exhibiting their features? Is it not true throughout all the avenues of business, over which to-day travel the most enterprising and energetic of our people, that the photograph is used by the man who wishes to make himself known?

In our daily transactions we subject ourselves to personal descriptions. I have in my pocket a railroad ticket which I bought in Los Angeles for the round trip from that city to Washington, and thence to California, and upon which ticket, by means of certain designations made by punching the ticket, I am described. I never thought of saying to the railroad corporation selling the ticket that it had no authority to so punch the same as to indicate whether I am tall or short, stout or otherwise; whether I am old or young, whether I have gray or black hair, or whether my head is bald. Yet they took that liberty with me, and I did not feel offended; and the Chinaman, whose tender heart seems to appeal with such effect to Senators here, is the last man on earth to be insulted because he is asked to sign his name and have his personal appearance taken down.

I have spoken to many Chinamen with reference to this registration, and they have uniformly told me that they were willing to register but that their leaders had informed them or advised them not to do so. By their leaders, they refer to the Six Companies—those wonderful organizations whose exact constitution is unknown, as far as I am aware, to any of us. To-day the Chinamen in California are, in my opinion, anxious for any opportunity to register under the provisions of this bill. They do not detect any hardship.

Primarily my disposition was to oppose the granting of any extension whatever; I believed that when the Congress of the United States had enacted a measure which was approved by the Executive, and when the supreme tribunal, whose organization fitted it for a final adjudication of the issue, have held that that legislation was valid and constitutional, it should have been enforced; but I found that the temper and desires of the majority of the American people were in favor of an extension, and I have not therefore hesitated to come here and to advocate the adoption of this bill.

I doubt whether in the second section the definition of the word "laborer" is as broad as it should be. I would rather define laborer as meaning all those who are not expressly permitted to land. I would rather, perhaps, amend the bill for the purpose of perfecting it in one or two respects, but I am satisfied that in these last hours of the session there is nothing to do but to pass it as it has come here.

There is a provision that the parties may go before a United States judge, and it is my opinion that there should have been added "the judge of a Territory," it having been held by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the United States *vs.* McAllister, 141 U. S., that a judge of a Territory is not a United States judge, but we shall probably be able to sup-



plement that later on if necessity arises. Hence I have presented no amendment.

While I thoroughly agree with the Senator from Washington [Mr. SQUIRE] that there should be an appropriation to carry out the provisions of this act, yet I do not believe it advisable to submit that amendment now, for the reason assigned with reference to the other amendments. Therefore I shall vote for the bill as it stands.

Let me say to those who for whatsoever reason see fit to stand here as the advocates of those people, against whom the citizens of the State of California, regardless of party and with astounding unanimity, protest that if they defeat this bill they leave the matter standing in that State thus: To-day Chinamen are in hiding, they are in the willow patches, the marshes, and in the hills seeking to avoid the enforcement of the law which is still in effect, and if those who feel friendly disposed toward the Chinese desired to do something to relieve their present condition let me remind them, in all earnestness and with the utmost sincerity, that they should at once desist from their efforts to repeal the wise legislation upon this subject heretofore passed. The enactment now desired is an extraordinarily liberal measure. When 100,000, perhaps 200,000, members of an alien race, permitted to be within the confines of this Republic, defy our laws and boldly announce that they will not obey the statute, I think they should be well satisfied if this Government permits them an opportunity to do that which they should have done long ago.

Senators speak of the imprisonment of these Chinamen. How can a man be deported unless there is some harshness used with reference to him? The necessity of his deportation being settled by the Government, and the power conceded and affirmed by the highest tribunal which may pass upon it, there remains nothing for the Government to do but to execute its well-considered edict, and in executing it, in deporting him, if the Chinaman will not go of his own motion, if he must be compelled to go, it may be that the maxim *molliter manus imposuit* should apply to him, but there must be some force used, as little as may be, but he must be taken: the marshal must not be required to keep him in his parlor, but when once sentenced, when once ordered deported, then the day of grace has passed and there is nothing to do but to execute the order.

"But you deny the right of *habeas corpus*," says somebody. Where do we deny it? There is no appeal, says another. Is there anything wonderful with reference to the denial of an appeal? In some tribunal must be lodged the power to finally adjudicate every question. It is of no moment, constitutionally considered, whether in such a case as this the ultimate power is vested in a judge of the United States district court or the Supreme Court of the United States. In each case it is within the power of Congress, and if each one of these Chinamen were given an opportunity to enable the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon a simple question of fact there would arise the necessity of creating a thousand tribunals with the result that the legislation could not be enforced.

Senators speak of the danger of men being deported who should not be. What tribunal more safe than that over which a United States judge presides? If we eliminate the court, and refer to it

the judge alone, nevertheless he is the same conscientious officer in whatever part of this Republic he may be. He has been selected by the President of the United States and his nomination confirmed by the Senate of the United States. The judge of a United States court has been made the arbiter with the full knowledge upon the part of Congress that in no other hands can the authority be more safely lodged: and when once a Chinaman is found unregistered, whose duty it was to register under the provisions of the act, he is subject to be deported. Then why, let me ask, should there be any further steps, any further delay, any appeal bonds, or why permit the release of one admittedly not entitled to be at large within the United States?

Some one has said an American, a white man, might be arrested under this law. Mr. President, yes, it may be that an officer of the law might take a white man and bring him before a United States judge and that the United States judge might decide him to be a Chinaman. But are we to suppose that our tribunals have become so incompetent, so foolish, so corrupt? Are we to indulge in a presumption against the officers of our Government, in whom we have ourselves lodged this power? Are we to assume that they are incapable of exercising their authority, either reasonably or honestly? There is no danger, Senators, of the abuse of power in this case. No such instance has ever arisen or will arise.

There is no disposition upon the part of the people of the State of California to misuse authority, or to ill treat Chinamen, or to do anything else than to live within the pale of the law. The people of California appealed to Congress, and not in vain, for the enactment of the measure to which this is an amendment. It was not their fault that the trouble was not settled, but it was because of the turpitude of those whose obligation it was to register; and now that they manifest a disposition to register, and while we accord them the privilege—and whether they demand it or not, it is certainly a gratuity on our part—let us not hesitate to incorporate in the enactment such provisions which will make it efficacious and final.

No hardship will be done. The Chinese will seek and be sought by the officers whose duty it is to register them, and they will register, placing their names and their photographs on record. No better credentials can the Chinese have to defend their right to stay within this country than the photograph and the certificate. These will constitute their protection. It will guard their interests as well as the interests of the people.

We know, notwithstanding the legislation which has been had here, that, although thousands of Chinamen have gone home, yet that population has not been reduced, and we appreciate, therefore, that the failure to reduce it under such circumstances is due necessarily to the coming into this country of Chinese who have no right whatever to be here.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] alluded to the language of the act signifying that certain Chinamen are entitled to be here, and he spoke harshly of the additional burdens imposed upon them. Shall an alien within the United States refuse to register, to give us his name if we see fit to ask of him? Is it undue severity to solicit him to put his name of record where it may be useful to us and of benefit to him? Is there any outrage committed when going to the Republic of France the

visitor finds that he must record his name? Is there anything outrageous in carrying a passport and having it inspected? Is there anything vicious in legislation which demands that when a reasonable provision is made with reference to aliens in this country that that provision shall be enforced?

This is not legislation in any manner like that to which Senators have alluded. The Jews of Russia have been expelled by an imperial order without any reference to their rights or any opportunity to perform any rational requirement giving them the privilege of remaining. The revocation of the edict of Nantes, mentioned by the Senator from Minnesota, and kindred harsh assertions of power were all peremptory mandates, unconditional and unreasonable orders inhibiting the presence of the hated individual and demanding his summary expulsion. But this nation has done no parallel act.

I am astonished that in this Chamber a Senator should rise and declare that we have enacted a law in any manner similar to those commented upon. Such statements are wholly unsupported. The power which we have invoked is the power of sovereignty. The Republic, within its own confines, guarding the welfare of her people and discharging that trust received from them, and which must be well and perfectly discharged if she shall live and command the respect of man, has simply exacted of these people to do something involving no expense, but little trouble, and no disgrace. This demand of the sovereign tolerating their presence is refused and they declare they will not comply. Then, this Government, whose laws have been repudiated and whose authority has been challenged, merely says to those who have thus defied her, "No penalty shall be inflicted upon you as the consequence of your willful transgressions, except this, if you will not obey my laws you shall not live within the reach of their jurisdiction." Surely no nation can be asked to harbor those who boldly refuse to acquiesce in reasonable regulations; and no nation can be called unjust if it demands that those who so refuse shall be driven without its walls. This is all that we attempt to do. How wanton, then, are the attacks made upon the friends of this legislation.

I know an appeal has been made to us by well-meaning and charitable and honest people, representing a portion of the Christian community of this country. But these good folks do not understand the subject. Some time ago the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] very well expressed the situation of these ladies and gentlemen, and explained their want of knowledge. I wish the light of Christianity might penetrate the Chinese heart and control their actions, and dictate to them the proper policy to pursue, the mode of life to follow. But in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, the efforts of our missionaries have not been a success. Of the one hundred thousand Chinamen who dwell in this country, amidst our churches and our Christians influence, and our goodness, and our piety, how many are really Christians?

Some of them go to Sunday-school, and their presence there was well explained by a Chinese interpreter with whom I was once acquainted. He came to my office and said, "I can not act longer for you or the county" (I was then a prosecuting officer, and had used him as an interpreter), "because I am going to China." "Well," I said, "Jim, will you return." He said,



"No." I remarked, "You are a Christian, are you not? I know you are a member of the the Rev. Mr. So-and-So's Sunday-school." He said, "Oh, yes; I am a Christian here." "Well," I said, "when you get back to China, will you not be a Christian there?" "Oh, no," he responded, "you know there are not many Christians in China, but this is a Christian country, and I like to do everything here that the Christians do. I am a Christian here, but when I go back to China, of course, I shall be the same as the Chinese are there." So that his theory was that religion was a kind of state institution, which it was his duty as rather a good-natured man to follow while he was here, and especially, in consideration of observing it, he was able to get an education, enabling him to speak the English language.

In all my experience, as I have said—and I have had a good deal of it—I have never been able to find a solitary Chinaman who, in my opinion, was a bona fide Christian.

When journeying here the other day from the city of Los Angeles I met a very estimable gentleman from Massachusetts, a member of the Episcopal Church, and he told me that he had gone to school in New England many years ago with a bright young Chinaman, who had been graduated and who remained in this country and studied law for some years, and was a member of a Christian denomination. He went to church here very regularly. The gentleman with whom I was conversing said he heard from the Chinese student soon after his arrival in China: that there he withdrew his claim to Christianity and resumed his ancient practices and donned his antediluvian garb. What the reason may be I do not pretend to state. My trust is that at some date the Almighty will enlighten these people, but I do not wish that my life and the lives of those whom I am here to represent shall pass away waiting, waiting, waiting for Divine interposition to make possible that policy which is advocated by the opponents of this bill. I have faith that the change will come, but I do not desire that my fellow-citizens shall be offered up as sacrifices, and unwilling ones at that, while we are pausing for the accomplishment of a miracle. It is our plain duty to legislate upon matters as they stand.

I do not regard as sufficient to control our action the glowing protests of those gentlemen who, standing upon a lofty pedestal and free from the presence of the Chinese curse and speaking of the rights of man, seek to instruct California as to the propriety of her conduct. If I could present some of these distinguished gentlemen and their constituents with twenty-five or fifty thousand Chinamen, I would fold my cloak and watch with confidence that, so far as they are concerned, the problem would soon be solved, and that among them I would find my most enthusiastic allies. There is evidently a want of education upon this topic.

This is not a party question in California, or the suggestion of any clique, of any creed, or of any class of men. It is the universal judgment of an intelligent people. One hundred and fifty-four thousand votes against eight hundred upon a secret ballot constitute an expression the like of which can not be recorded in any State of this Union upon any issue or alleged issue.

With this before us, with the knowledge which we of the coast possess, we, the representatives of that section, appeal to the Senate and to Congress, to those who occupy a common vantage ground, we appeal to them to do that justice which we should do



if we were in their position; to treat us as brethren entitled to their active coöperation in our struggle of self-defense.

Senators refer to the possible conduct of China in relation to our missionaries. She will not, Mr. President, take any course differing from that already adopted because of this measure. I am willing, speaking for myself, that she should ask our missionaries in China to register and present their photographs. What an outrage would thus be perpetrated on the missionary who has gone forth prepared to die, ready to be tied to the stake or sliced by the well-known Chinese slicing process? Would he not be willing to stipulate that in lieu of the dangers which he supposed he might meet, he should be called upon to sign his name and give a photograph?

We hear that there is danger that China may retaliate, and we are told "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Yes, Mr. President, let China require every American within her walls to register and present his photograph, and I do not believe one will be found to object. Our missionaries will not defy the law of China, and China will, in that event, have done to them just as we are doing to her subjects, and no American will be silly enough to protest against the regulation.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator allow me to ask him if it is not true that every American citizen in China is compelled to register in some manner?

Mr. WHITE of California. Undoubtedly.

Mr. DOLPH. And are not American citizens obliged to take out some evidence of their right to stay there?

Mr. WHITE of California. I understand so; but I am speaking of the special provisions of the pending bill. My understanding is, though I am not prepared to give the terms of the order, that much more stringent measures are enforced in China than here in that regard.

The Chinamen at the World's Fair, one of whose certificates I have in my pocket, have not found it very difficult to register and present their photographs. I hold in my hand Mr. Wee Hay's card and his photograph and the various tickets appended thereto. He is an actor, a professional man, and he has not objected to furnishing his photograph so far as I have heard. In fact there is not, as I said before, a single Chinamen in the State of California who on personal grounds objects to this proposition.

Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate further. I have made these remarks because it has seemed to me that opposing Senators have not presented this question upon its real merits, and that they have misconceived the attitude of California and of the inhabitants of that State. It appears to me that if Senators resided on the Pacific coast for even a brief period their sentiments would be identical with those of their own flesh and blood who, brought into immediate contact with this repellant influence, have made the demands which I am attempting to enforce. The legislation proposed is wise, necessary, just. The criticisms which I have sought to answer are the outcome of a total misapprehension of the matter, and the disasters suggested will prove entirely imaginative.













